

JPRS 69168

31 May 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1394

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

**Reproduced From
Best Available Copy**

20000218 076

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPRS 69168	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1394			5. Report Date 31 May 1977																			
			6.																			
7. Author(s)			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.																			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																			
			11. Contract/Grant No.																			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered																			
			14.																			
15. Supplementary Notes																						
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																						
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors																						
<table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany		<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda																					
<input type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany																						
<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia																						
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms																						
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																						
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 108																		
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PC A06																		

31 May 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1394

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR Leaders Congratulate USSR Counterparts on VE Day (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 May 77).....	1
GDR Leaders Greet CSSR Leaders on Liberation Anniversary (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 May 77).....	3
GDR Leaders, Soviet Forces Commander Exchange Greetings (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 May 77).....	5
GDR Victory Anniversary Congratulations Soviet Forces Message	
GDR Leaders Greet Romanian Counterparts on Independence Centenary (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 May 77).....	8

BULGARIA

Resolution of Sixth Scientific-Technical Union Congress in Bulgaria (TEKHNICHESKO DELO, 16 Apr 77).....	10
Writer Exposes Negative Social Aspects of Self-Seeking (Emil Manov; LITERATUREN FRONT, 21 Apr 77).....	25
Husak Hails Warsaw Peace Builders Rally (RUDE PRAVO, 6 May 77).....	31

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR Claims Helsinki Fulfillment in Culture (RUDE PRAVO, 16 Apr 77).....	33
Deputy Minister: Culture Exchange Flourishes, by Josef Svagera Editorial Scores London Counterclaims	
Kabrhelova Comments on the Gabriel Case (Marie Kabrhelova; MLADA FRONTA, 23 Apr 77).....	39
Soviet Journalist Praises Husak (Evgeniy Chernov; RUDE PRAVO, 16 Apr 77).....	41
Salgovic Defends East Bloc's Social, Economic Record (Viliam Salgovic; IZVESTIYA, 8 May 77).....	45

EAST GERMANY

FRG Paper Notes GDR Willingness To Hold Talks With Berlin Senat (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 26 Apr 77).....	49
GDR, Mongolian Leaders Address 6 May East Berlin Dinner (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7-8 May 77).....	51
Stoph Toast, by Willi Stoph Batmonh Toast, by Jambyn Batmonh	
Civil Defense Now Controlled by NVA (INFORMATIONEN, Apr 77).....	56
Briefs Book Publication Figures	57

POLAND

Flight Safety Measures Proposed (Ireneusz Czyzewski; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 6 Apr 77).....	58
--	----

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Gives Interview to Japanese Press Group (SCINTEIA, 3 May 77).....	61
--	----

YUGOSLAVIA

Precongress Ideological Discussion Held in Bosnia- Hercegovina (Mehmed Halilovic; OSLOBODJENJE, 31 Mar 77).....	68
---	----

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR LEADERS CONGRATULATE USSR COUNTERPARTS ON VE DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 77 p 1 AU

[Honecker, Stoph message to USSR leaders on 32d anniversary of the victory in the great fatherland war]

[Text] To Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

To Comrade Nikolay Victorovich Podgornyy, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Comrade Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow

Esteemed Comrades!

On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the victory in the great fatherland war and the liberation of the German people from fascism, we convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers as well as to the entire Soviet people the cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and of the GDR people.

In the most devastating of all wars, the Soviet people under the leadership of its glorious Communist Party achieved heroic feats as had never before been experienced by mankind, defended not only its own country's freedom and independence but also made the decisive contribution toward saving European and world civilization from destruction by the fascist barbarism. The victory of the Soviet people and its heroic Red Army over Hitlerite fascism at the same time demonstrated the victoriousness of the ideas of the great October Socialist Revolution, whose 60th anniversary will be celebrated by all progressive mankind this year.

The liberation from fascism by the Soviet Army gave our people, too, the historic chance to adopt the road of peace, democracy and socialism and to establish worker-peasant power once and for all. In the stream of the

revolutionary world process the socialist revolution was implemented in the GDR under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the workers class, and a socialist German state developed in the heart of Europe, a state that is irrevocably anchored in the socialist community. With great achievements and ever new initiatives in socialist competition, which this year is entirely marked by the 60th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, our country's working people are consistently striving to fulfill the Ninth SED Congress decisions for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

To the communists and all GDR working people, the further successful advance in shaping the developed socialist society and in creating the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism is inseparably linked with the deepening of the militant alliance between the SED and the CPSU. It is becoming more and more clearly evident that the fraternal friendship between our two parties, states and peoples is the foundation of the future victories of socialism in the GDR. With the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of 7 October 1975, which has already borne fruit in life, the relations between the GDR and the USSR have been raised onto a new, higher level and the main trends for the further development of the all-round cooperation have been determined on a long-term basis.

As an inseparable constituent part of the community of socialist countries, the GDR is making its contribution toward implementing the program proclaimed by the 25th CPSU Congress for the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the peoples' freedom and independence. At the side of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist states, the GDR is consistently participating in the efforts to implement the decisions of the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee and to achieve new progress on the road of international detente, the strengthening of peace and the development of cooperation in Europe.

Esteemed comrades, we observe with joy the Soviet people's outstanding accomplishments and great enthusiasm in implementing the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and in preparing the 60th anniversary of the Red October. With all our hearts [we] wish you and all working people of the great Soviet country new and important successes in building the communist society and in the struggle for peace throughout the world.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR LEADERS GREET CSSR LEADERS ON LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 77 p 2 AU

[Text] To Comrade Dr Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR; to Comrade Dr Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, Prague.

Dear Comrades! On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia from fascist oppression by the glorious Soviet Army we convey to you, the CPCZ Central Committee, the government and all working people of your country the cordial and fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR.

In the more than 3 decades since this historic liberation deed the peoples of the CSSR, under the tried leadership of its battle-tested, Marxist-Leninist party, have performed outstanding feats in shaping the socialist social system.

The magnificent results in all spheres of social life, the elan with which the communists and all CSSR working people are implementing the noble goals of the 15th CPCZ Congress demonstrates the creative strength of the Czechoslovak workers class and its firm links with its Marxist-Leninist party.

We congratulate you, dear comrades and the working people of your country, from the bottom of our hearts on these impressive successes.

The building of the developed socialist society in the CSSR is at the same time an important contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community. In inviolable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries the CSSR is actively cooperating in the implementation of the synchronized and coordinated peace and security policy and has gained great prestige in the world.

We can note with deep satisfaction that the close, trustful cooperation between the SED and the CPCZ, the GDR and the CSSR has comprehensively developed, and enriched with new content this cooperation has drawn our states and peoples considerably closer together.

We are united by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the common communist goals, our inviolable alliance with the country of Lenin and the fraternal Soviet people together with whom we will celebrate this year the 60th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. In firm cohesion with the other fraternal countries we are advocating the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and in the world, the promotion of the process of detente and the enhancement of the international attractive force of real socialism.

Rest assured, dear Czechoslovak comrades, that the GDR on its part will also in the future make every effort to deepen the relations of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, states and peoples.

We wish you, dear comrades, and all working people of the CSSR new successes in building the developed socialist society in your country and we combine with this our best wishes for vigorous health and personal well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR LEADERS, SOVIET FORCES COMMANDER EXCHANGE GREETINGS

GDR Victory Anniversary Congratulations

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 77 p 2 AU

[Text] To Comrade Army Gen Ye. F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the group of Soviet forces in Germany [GSFG]! To Comrade Col Gen I. S. Mednikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Administration of the GSFG; Wuensdorf.

Esteemed Comrade Army General Ivanovskiy! Esteemed Comrade Colonel General Mednikov! On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the great fatherland war and of the liberation of our people from Hitler fascism we convey to you and all members of the GSFG cordian congratulations and fraternal, militant greetings.

With its historic victory in the great fatherland war the Soviet people and its glorious army, under the leadership of the CPSU, performed an international feat of historical scope. With immensurable sacrifices they defended the socialist achievements in their own country and saved the peoples of Europe from fascist barbarism.

As internationalist and class comrades the Soviet people and its army also brought freedom for our people. They helped us to implement a change in the history of our people and to establish a peace-loving socialist German state linked by firm friendship with the Soviet Union and irrevocably anchored in the community of socialist states.

With great energy and efficiency the working people of the GDR are persistently working for the implementation of the Ninth SED Congress decisions for further shaping the developed socialist society. In this connection it is becoming increasingly clear that the fraternal alliance with Lenin's country which was given a new impetus by the friendship treaty of 7 October 1975 remains a decisive basis for the future successes in socialist construction.

This year's victory anniversary is entirely marked by the 60th anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. In honor of this event the working people of our country are developing with enthusiasm and creative initiative the most comprehensive socialist competition in GDR history. For the armed forces and armed organs of the GDR the year of the great October serves as a special stimulus to do all that is necessary for the strengthening of the socialist defense alliance. Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries we will jointly counter the attempts of the reactionary circles of imperialism to block the process of detente. We regard it as our internationalist class duty to continuously strengthen the unshakable alliance between our parties and peoples and the comradeship in arms between the glorious Soviet Army and the national people's army of the GDR.

Dear comrades and all members of the Soviet armed forces in Germany we wish you from the bottom of our hearts great new successes in the struggle for the reliable protection of socialism and for securing peace in Europe and the whole world.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Berlin, 9 May 1977.

Soviet Forces Message

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 May 77 p 2 AU

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; to Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Esteemed Comrades! On behalf of the military council, of all members of the group of Soviet forces in Germany [GSFG] and personally we convey to you and through you to all GDR working people our cordial congratulations on the 32d anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism.

In the past years the GDR has undergone fundamental change. Under the leadership of the SED the people of the GDR have managed in a historically brief period to erect a flourishing state where everything created by the hands and minds of the people belongs to the working people. The successes achieved by the workers class, the cooperative peasantry and the intelligentsia of the GDR are impressive, but even more lofty are the republic's future prospects mapped out by the Ninth SED Congress. The new party program adopted by the party congress poses the historical task of the further shaping of the developed socialist society and the creation of fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

The members of the GSFG are very pleased that the working people of the first socialist state on German soil are advancing toward the outstanding historical event in the life of all progressive mankind, the 60th anniversary of the great Socialist October Revolution, [phrases as published] with great successes in all spheres of sociopolitical, economic and cultural development and in the defense capacity of the country.

The members of the GSFG fraternally appreciate the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR, which is based on the complete unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties and on the unshakable principles of socialist internationalism. The members of the GSFG will continue in the future to do everything in their power for the further development and strengthening of the fraternal relations with the republic's working people and the members of the GDR's National People's Army.

On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism we wish you, esteemed comrades, and all the republic's working people new, great successes in socialist construction, the further flourishing of your socialist homeland as well as personal happiness and well-being.

With communist greetings,

Ye. Ivanovskiy, army gen, commander in chief of the GSFG;

I. Mednikov, Col Gen, member of the Military Council and chief of the political administration of the GSFG.

CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR LEADERS GREET ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS ON INDEPENDENCE CENTENARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 May 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Comrade Manea Manescu, premier of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Bucharest.

Esteemed Comrades! On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR, we congratulate you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania as well as all citizens of your country very cordially on the centenary of achieving national independence.

This event was an important milestone of the successful struggle of the Romanian people for freedom and independence which was crowned in 1944 thanks to the decisive victories of the glorious Soviet Army by the liberation of Romania from the fascist yoke.

Under the leadership of the RCP and in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, Romania has developed into a modern industrial-agrarian state whose working people are performing great feats for the fulfillment of the tasks and goals posed by the 11th RCP Congress.

In accordance with the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania of 12 May 1972 the relations between our fraternally linked countries have continuously developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. We are firmly convinced that the further deepening of the cooperation between our parties, states and peoples within the framework of the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA will serve the interests of the two peoples, the strengthening of the unity of the socialist community of states, and the further strengthening of socialism and peace.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, and all working people of Romania new successes in establishing the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

BULGARIA

RESOLUTION OF SIXTH SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL UNION CONGRESS IN BULGARIA

Sofia TEKHNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Apr 77 pp 4-5

[Resolution of the Sixth Congress of Scientific and Technical Unions in Bulgaria]

[Text] After a profound discussion of the accountability report on the activities of the Scientific and Technical Unions for 1972-1973 and the report of the Central Auditing Commission, the Sixth Congress of Scientific and Technical Unions

Notes:

In the period under consideration the Scientific and Technical Unions were guided by the decisions of the historic 10th BCP Congress, the National Party Conference, and the decisions of the Fifth NTS [Scientific and Technical Unions] Congress. The enhancement of their role at the 10th and 11th party congresses, as the public support of the party and the state on matters of technical progress provided a major impetus to their work. The formulation of specific tasks on the part of party, state, and economic authorities, the trust given the NTS in the solution of major problems in the field of technical progress, and the close party guidance and aid enabled the Scientific and Technical Unions to increase their contribution to the socioeconomic development of the country.

The stipulations formulated at the highest party forums and, personally, by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, and chairman of the State Council, were of exceptional importance to the development and improvement of the activities of the Scientific and Technical Unions.

Following their fifth congress the NTS did considerable work to link even more closely their overall activities with production. They developed extensively and improved their public form of work aimed at including an ever greater segment of scientific and technical cadres in helping the state and economic authorities at all levels to carry out national economic and counter plans, particularly plans for science and technical progress, and apply scientific and technical achievements and programs for comprehensive

production modernization and effective utilization of raw materials, materials, and energy.

The NTS achieved considerable successes in their participation as co-organizers of the state-public review of social labor productivity. In 1974-1975 it involved the participation of over 70,000 union members; in 1976 over 95,000 members participated. Groups of highly skilled specialists offered more than 21,000 consultations on problems at that review. The NTS organized a broad public discussion of over 21,000 engineering plans and technical and economic measures and insured the participation of highly skilled specialists in their formulation. A number of problems in the engineering designs and technical and economic measures were elaborated and resolved by NTS scientific and technical collectives.

The activities of the NTS in the nationwide socialist competition and the movement for personal creative specialist plans expanded and intensified as the successful method for participation in the competition. Today over 170,000 union members (65.3 per cent of the overall membership) are participating with their individual creative plans through which they undertake to resolve problems on the use of technical progress and production tasks. The movement over fulfilled the control figures for the last three years of the sixth five-year plan.

In the sixth five-year plan the joint work of state and public authorities and organizations in the fields of invention and rationalization, in which the NTS are participating most energetically, resulted in major national economic savings of 712 million leva. Innovators were greatly helped in the development and implementation of their ideas by the public design bureaus, through consultations, the public experimental basis, the open consideration and adoption of rationalization suggestions, and so on.

Work on developing the activities of scientific and technical collectives on the basis of Council of Ministers resolution number 59 improved. Between 1971 and 1975 over 19,000 collectives elaborated and applied over 8,500 problems with savings totaling 82.7 million leva. The majority of the problems resolved by the creative collectives, based on Council of Ministers resolution number 646, are related to production purposes, technology, and design. In the period under consideration the expected resulting savings will exceed 242 million leva.

In the period under consideration the main task of the NTS was their active participation in the application of the scientific and technical achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and of worldwide achievements in the field of science and technology, as well as Bulgarian scientific and technical achievements, inventions, and rationalizations. The NTS authorities and organizations usefully participated in the utilization of purchased licenses, in developing the topics included in the state plan for science and technical progress, developing an application collective based on Council of Ministers resolution number 646, and others.

Ascribing prime importance to post graduate cadre training, the NTS trained over 71,000 specialists in the ways of the IUSIT [presumed expansion: Institute for the Advanced Training of Specialists, Engineers, and Technicians], and sponsored short training courses for over 800,000 specialists and innovators. The union authorities and organizations helped the economic managements and Bulgarian trade unions in training workers in PUTs [Vocational Training Centers]. Considerable efforts were made to develop the ideological-political and vocational training of specialists.

The NTS are active in the field of scientific and technical and economic information. They strengthened their ties in this area with the KNTPVO [Committee for Science, Technical Progress, and Higher Education] and TsINTI [Central Institute for Scientific and Technical Information]. The use of active scientific and technical information was undertaken.

As a result of the more than 19,000 scientific and technical conferences, symposiums, and meetings held between 1972 and 1976 thousands of suggestions were submitted to interested departments. A large percentage of them were used in the national economy. A considerable number of them were applied with the participation of the NTS.

The NTS improved its activities in the field of scientific and technical propaganda. The measures implemented at the Plovdiv Fair, motion picture and photographic propaganda, participation in exhibits and days of science and technology in Bulgaria and abroad, lectures (92,000 lectures attended by over 3.3 million people), and others, reached a higher level.

To an ever greater extent the scientific and technical press such as scientific and technical periodicals and the newspaper TEKHNICHESKO DELO, are becoming effective organs for the implementation of the party's policy in the fields of science and technical progress.

The NTS strengthened and developed their international relations with related organizations in the socialist countries and, above all, the VSNTS [All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies] of the Soviet Union, as well as the engineering organizations in the Balkan countries and some capitalist and developing countries.

Voluntary participation in NTS activities was raised to a higher level. Ties between NTS authorities and organizations and state organs at all levels improved. The contractual principle in joint activities was used more extensively. Considerable improvements were achieved in activities conducted jointly with the Bulgarian trade unions, the Komsomol, and other social organizations.

In the period under consideration the NTS strengthened organizationally. Membership rose from 206,641 in 1971 to 265,387. The style and methods of work of union authorities improved. The organizational structure of the NTS was improved in accordance with the decision of the BCP Central Committee secretariat and the decisions of the 14th plenum of the NTS Central Council.

Major successes were achieved in developing the material base of the unions, and so on.

Despite the successes achieved, the NTS allowed also a number of weaknesses in their work.

Above all, a serious shortcoming of the NTS is that they organized the participation of only some 30 per cent of their members in the state-public review of social labor productivity. Insufficient efforts were made to involve scientific workers from scientific research institutes, higher educational institutions, and other scientific research and development units. The necessary scientific and technical information was not provided for comparing levels reached abroad and in our country. A broad public discussion of engineering plans and engineering and technical measures was not carried out. The participation of union members in their preparation and implementation was insufficiently organized.

Insufficient work was done by the NTS on the movement for individual creative specialist plans and the participation of union members (only 65.3 per cent) in the nationwide socialist competition.

The NTS authorities and organizations did not make adequate use of their possibilities for the development of the invention and rationalization movement and for upgrading its effectiveness. The percentage of industrial production personnel in it remains rather low (4.5 per cent); two-thirds of the specialists with higher education and four-fifths of the specialists with secondary education have not become involved in the movement. The high percentage of unused rationalization suggestions (25 per cent) and, particularly, inventions (75 per cent) indicates that not only the state authorities but the NTS themselves allow major weaknesses to occur. Insufficient work is being done to help innovators (there are only 861 public design bureaus) with consultations and, particularly, with informing them of achievements in their field of work. Extremely insufficient work is being done to apply the Soviet methods for the creation of public experimental basis and for open discussion and adoption of suggestions. Efforts to develop a suitable socio-psychological climate and provide proper control in such activities, and so on, are poor.

So far only individual okrug NTS councils and, within the okrugs, individual NTD [Scientific and Technical Societies] are engaged in activities based on Council of Ministers resolution number 59. The percentage of design projects with no production purpose, based on Council of Ministers resolution number 646 is quite high.

The practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements has not become the main task of the NTS. The union authorities and organizations are not sufficiently participating in the utilization of purchased licenses as part of the state plan for science and technical progress; cases of sponsoring the use of unapplied major inventions and rationalizations are few. The NTS have participated insufficiently in the formulation of programs

and the shaping of application policies and in formulating the tasks of economic organizations, enterprises, and agroindustrial complexes.

Weaknesses are also found in NTS activities related to post graduate cadre training. Many of the curricula include obsolete materials and topics. Most lectures are mainly theoretical and the practical and applied value of the material studied is insufficient. Material facilities are also insufficient and the training is not conducted with the help of modern methods and the use of technical facilities, and so on.

Insufficient work is being done to promote the ideological and political education of the specialists. The role of the specialists as educators of the workers and the youth has not been consolidated.

NTS activities in the field of scientific and technical information, active information in particular, are only at their beginning. The NTS public bureaus are insufficient and their activities have not been precisely regulated.

Most of the scientific and technical conferences and symposiums held were mainly of a theoretical nature. Most of them were concluded without issuing specific recommendations and suggestions to interested departments, and a large percentage of the suggestions formulated were of no practical production value and were not applied.

At the Plovdiv Fair the programs for some scientific and technical measures were not related to the theme of the fair and the items exhibited; some of the lectures in the field of lecture propaganda were substandard. Relations between the NTS and the Georgi Kirkov Society in the field of specialized scientific and technical propaganda were not refined.

The NTS allowed major weaknesses in their activities involving union scientific and technical press. No substantial improvements were made to the periodicals and the newspaper TEKHNICHESKO DELO in implementing the decisions of the NTS Central Council plenum on the union's scientific and technical press. Many of the periodicals continue to publish scientific works only without reflecting topical scientific and technical sectorial problems.

In the course of their international activities the NTS were not always able to select the proper, highly skilled specialists for participation in measures abroad. The submission of reports at such gatherings by our specialists was insufficient. Exchange of experience was poorly promoted; round table discussions failed to resolve the problem of organizing scientific trips, etc.

Even though in the period under consideration the activities conducted jointly by the NTS and the state authorities and organizations on specific tasks and programs of union branches showed a certain development, the participation of union authorities and organizations in the formulation and discussion of state national economic plans and, particularly, plans for science and technical progress, for the application of scientific and

technical achievements, and for the comprehensive modernization of the production process and for saving raw materials, materials, and energy was very poor. Nearly all state and economic organizations failed to fulfill their obligations based on directive number 57 of the former KSK [Committee for Economic Coordination].

In many places joint activities with the Bulgarian trade unions were approached on a formal basis. Joint work with the Komsomol and work for helping the Komsomol authorities and organizations in their efforts to develop the young specialists as active creative members of the socialist society has been entirely insufficient.

Weaknesses were allowed also in the work done by the NTS with the public committees and councils on problems of quality, organizational activities, supplying technology houses and clubs with modern technical facilities and equipment, and their full utilization in the implementation of scientific and technical activities, and so on.

All of our successes and weaknesses were justifiably and fully reflected in the 8 March 1977 BCP Central Committee Politburo decision "On Upgrading the Role of the Scientific and Technical Unions in the Period of Building a Developed Socialist Society in the Bulgarian People's Republic". The decision also formulated with extreme clarity the tasks of the NTS for the forthcoming period and on a longer range basis and opened a broad field of work for union authorities and organizations. It is a real battle program for action and the first major document of the BCP related to the NTS asserting and broadening their role in mobilizing the creative activeness of specialists, inventors, and rationalizers so that they may make further contributions to the solution of the major and responsible tasks of material output and the implementation of the seventh five-year plan slogan for high quality and effectiveness in all activities.

In order to insure the implementation of the tasks formulated in the BCP Central Committee Politburo decision and insure the full utilization of the increased possibilities of the NTS in the struggle for the further building of a developed socialist society, and in accordance with the stipulations of the 11th Party Congress and the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the congress adopted the following

RESOLUTION:

In the period of building a developed socialist society the main task of the NTS shall be the fulfillment of the role of public support on problems of scientific and technical progress as stipulated by the BCP:

They shall contribute to the fullest utilization of reserves in the country's economy, mobilizing the efforts of all specialists for the faster and more effective application of scientific and technical achievements in the production process;

They shall work for the professional, political, and ideological growth of Bulgarian engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists, and economists for the dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge;

They shall become the active organizers of scientific and technical creativity, and of the invention and rationalization movements.

To this purpose the scientific and technical associations shall implement the following:

I. NTS participation in the shaping and implementation of the country's scientific and technical policy

1. The Scientific and Technical Unions shall help actively the Committee for Science, Technical Progress, and Higher Education, the State Committee for Planning, and the ministries and economic and social organizations in the shaping and implementation of the country's scientific and technical policy; they shall actively participate, at all levels, with their public form of work, in the drafting, discussion, and ratification of annual and long-term plans, concepts, and forecasts for the socioeconomic development of the country and, particularly, the plans for science and technical progress, the plans for the application of scientific and technical achievements, and the programs for production modernization and for saving raw materials, materials, energy, and time. To this purpose:

On the basis of the basic regulations for joint work with the KNTPVO the NTS Central Council shall insure the participation of its members in collectives working on scientific and technical progress forecasts and, if necessary, shall organize the discussion of such matters.

It shall submit to the KNTPVO considerations and suggestions on the elaborated five-year and annual plans for science and technical progress.

The central managements of sectorial unions shall participate actively in the elaboration of plans for science and technical progress, application plans, and programs for complex production modernization and saving raw materials, materials, energy, and time in the respective sectors; it shall organize a discussion of such plans and programs and formulate respective viewpoints and suggestions.

The okrug NTS councils shall assume the functions of public territorial basis for the KNTPVO on matters established jointly by the NTS Central Council and the KNTPVO. They shall participate actively in the development and utilization of technical progress in the okrugs, the elaboration of okrug plans for science and technology, plans for the utilization of scientific and technical achievements, and programs for the comprehensive modernization of output and for saving raw materials, materials, and energy. They shall sponsor extensive public discussions of such plans and programs and formulate respective viewpoints and suggestions.

The NTS shall actively participate in the formulation of plans for science and technical progress, plans for the utilization of scientific and technical achievements, and counter plans, as well as programs for saving raw materials, materials, energy, and time at enterprises, and construction, transportation, and other economic organizations and agroindustrial complexes; they shall organize the public discussion of such plans and programs and review their implementation regularly.

2. The NTS authorities and organizations shall assist, on their respective levels, departments, and economic and scientific organizations in the elaboration and coordination of comprehensive and other programs based on the plan for science and technical progress and, if necessary, organize their discussion. They shall also participate with their representatives in program conferences for the most important comprehensive programs of national significance.

3. The NTS shall participate actively in the discussion and solution of problems related to the development of sectors and enterprises. Based on suggestions formulated by the KNTPVO or state and economic organizations, they shall engage in expert assessments of reconstruction, modernization, or new construction and the submission of suggestions on some information discussed by the various collegiums on the implementation of the plan for science and technical progress and the utilization of scientific and practical achievements.

4. The NTS Central Council, the central managements of the sectorial unions, and the okrug NTS councils shall participate actively in investigations organized jointly with the KNTPVO on the implementation of plans for science and technical progress and the utilization of scientific and technical achievements.

5. Reciprocal representation must be insured in collegiums, economic councils, and others; state and economic authorities must be represented in the NTS Central Council executive bureau and the central managements of sectorial unions, as follows: for the NTS Central Council: mutual representation with the KNTPVO, the Komsomol, the Ministry of Supply and State Reserves, and others; the central managements of sectorial unions shall have reciprocal representation with the respective administrations or departments of the KNTPVO, ministries, state economic trusts, scientific research institutes, and others.

II. Improving the Activities of Scientific and Technical Unions

The NTS have the exceptionally important task of mobilizing the union members for most effective and creative participation in the fulfillment and over fulfillment of production plans, upgrading social labor productivity and production effectiveness through the complex modernization and reconstruction of production capacities, production automation and management, enhancement of the technical level and quality of output, effective utilization of raw and other material resources, full utilization

of available equipment, and others. The efforts of union members must be directed toward the implementation of the national target programs in accordance with the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum and plans for the concentration and specialization of output based on the multiplication approach.

To this purpose:

6. The NTS authorities and organizations must decisively improve their work related to the state-public review of social labor productivity by:

Involving the organized participation of all union members in active work related to the review;

Organizing, on a broad public basis, a discussion of general engineering plans, and suggestions formulated by collectives--workers and specialists--of programs for organizational and technical measures, specific engineering plans, and general topic plans. They shall develop a comprehensive approach to and the organized participation of union members in their formulations; they shall use to a maximal extent the possibilities offered on the basis of Council of Ministers resolutions numbers 59 and 646 on the elaboration of engineering projects and organizational-technical measures, or part of them, by scientific and technical collectives;

Involving on an organized basis union members in the implementation of engineering projects and organizational-technical measures.

7. They shall organize the participation of all union members in the nationwide socialist competition and develop extensively the movement for the adoption of creative plans and for increasing their contribution to the solution of material production problems.

An atmosphere must be created in which the participation of specialists in the movement for individual creative plans and contributions to the five-year plan become the basic stipulation for NTS membership and the results of such participation to be taken into consideration in their certification.

The movement of intensified relations between science and production must be improved steadily; the Leninist principles of competition organization such as publicity, comparability results, and practical duplication of leading experience must be applied more extensively.

8. The NTS must energize and assert its role in public invention and rationalization activities. To this purpose:

The NTD shall participate actively in the elaboration of topic and rationalization plans and the development of scientific and technical collectives based on Council of Ministers resolution number 59 and other acts aimed at insuring their implementation;

Public consultation and design units and public experimental bases shall be built everywhere to help scientific and technical collectives, youth design-technological brigades, and individual inventors and rationalizers; the Soviet experience must be extensively applied in openly discussing and adopting rationalization suggestions and reviewing rejected more important inventions and rationalization suggestions;

The scientific and technical societies must actively help enterprises and organize public discussions of more important problems;

Through the central managements the NTS Central Council shall organize public expert councils to discuss rejected invention and rationalization suggestions and assist in the experimentation with an application of new, promising suggestions;

The NTD in scientific institutes, higher educational institutions, and development teams must be energized in order to increase decisively the percentage of scientific developments equivalent to inventions;

Measures shall be taken to improve the work of the councils for the organization of technical creativity insuring their full cooperation, coordination, and help in improving invention and rationalization work;

Creative cooperation and development of joint collectives specialists and production innovators and scientific personnel of scientific research institutes, higher educational institutions, bureaus for development and application, and others shall be developed firmly for the purpose of joint elaboration of subjects in the topic plans or the elimination of production bottlenecks;

Extensive use shall be made of competitions in the solution of various problems determined jointly with the respective state and economic authorities and organizations;

Public control over the activities of state and economic authorities in the fields of invention and rationalization shall be improved;

By the end of the seventh five-year plan the rationalization and invention movement must include 100 per cent of specialists with higher and secondary education--union members directly involved in production work.

9. The NTS must decisively increase its activities in the practical application of scientific and technical achievements. To this purpose:

The assistance of state authorities in the practical utilization of suggestions submitted at conferences, symposiums, meetings, and others shall be expanded and improved. The NTS Central Council, the union central managements and the okrug NTS councils shall apply a system of accountability and control over the implementation of such suggestions;

The central and okrug NTS councils and the NTD shall cooperate and assume specific obligations for the execution and utilization of topics from the state plan for science and technical progress;

Sponsorship of non-applied major inventions and rationalizations shall be undertaken extensively;

An irreconcilable struggle shall be waged against manifestations of fear for new developments, bureaucracy, formalism, and others on the part of some economic managers.

10. The work of the creative collectives in terms of the Council of Ministers resolution number 646 shall be directed mainly toward production modernization through internal efforts, supported by specialists from the outside, the solution of complex problems by collectives affiliated with different departments, the solution of technological and design problems, extensive use of minor mechanization facilities, use of comprehensive quality control systems, production of prototypes and practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements.

11. NTS activities related to post graduate cadre training shall be improved decisively. To this purpose:

The scope of IUSIT activities shall be broadened so that it may include a considerably larger number of specialists in post graduate training work; such activities shall be linked more closely with the qualification plans of the KNTFVO, ministries, departments, economic organizations, and VUZ. The NTS Central Council shall take the initiative of drafting joint programs with the KNTFVO and the Ministry of Public Education, clearly determining NTS assignments in this field;

The curricula and lectures offered at the course shall teach mainly new, practical developments in science and technology in a given field, fully consistent with topical production problems; theoretical depth shall be combined with practical problems. The duration of the courses shall be reduced to the minimum and on-the-job training shall be offered for specialists. Extensive use shall be made of the mixed (regular-correspondence) training method; television and other modern facilities shall be used;

The self-training of specialists (program and supervision) shall be organized as an effective method for upgrading their knowledge and bringing it up to date;

The organized participation and aid given by specialists in the activities of economic managements and Bulgarian trade unions in worker training (PUTs activities) shall be expanded and improved decisively;

Special measures shall be taken to improve material training facilities.

12. Ideological work with the specialists shall be improved in order to develop in them high communist virtues, a creative approach to the problems

of scientific and technical development, a new attitude toward labor and socialist property, intolerance toward indifference and rigidity, and high labor discipline. Manifestations of technocracy and neglect of the ideological and political content of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution shall be decisively eliminated and a correct attitude toward its social and ideological aspects shall be developed; activities on the study and utilization of the scientific and technical achievements and leading experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries shall be improved and expanded. Such activities shall be planned and applied in all forms of work and in any measure implemented along the NTS line, particularly at conferences and symposiums, participation in the socialist competition and in the work of scientific and technical collectives, cadre post-graduate training, activities related to scientific and technical information and propaganda, activities of the union scientific and technical press, and others.

Particular attention shall be paid to the use of specialists as educators of the youth and entire labor collectives in order to develop in them a socialist attitude toward labor and public property, and mold new qualities within the collective and the individual such as high professional skills, creativity, initiative, feeling of responsibility, discipline, and exactingness.

13. The NTS shall decisively improve their activities in the field of scientific and technical information. To this purpose:

Before the end of 1977 active scientific and technical information must be organized for all main items or groups of items and their manufacturing;

The network of state-public and social bureaus for scientific and technical information shall be expanded so that by the end of 1978 each NTD at the bigger enterprises in the country may have its state-public or social authority in charge of scientific and technical information. By the end of 1977 all scientific and technical information bureaus must register with the information centers for purposes of receiving information and other materials;

Extensive explanatory and organizational work shall be developed for the training of specialists as consumers of scientific and technical information and for their active and creative involvement in its utilization;

Joint work between the NTS and the KNTPVO in the field of scientific and technical information shall be expanded, intensified, and strengthened, as well as enriched in form and content. A joint document shall be urgently elaborated regulating the activities of public scientific and technical information bureaus. All NTS okrug councils shall set up okrug centers for scientific and technical information following the methodical guidance method of the TsINTI.

14. The holding of scientific and technical conferences, symposiums, meetings, and others shall be improved by reducing to a minimum theoretical reports and elaborations and insure greater practical use of measures related to topical national economic problems.

Each conference, symposium, or meeting shall provide strictly specific, considered, and valuable suggestions to interested departments and organizations. Social cooperation and control shall be insured for the adoption of accepted suggestions.

15. Activities related to scientific and technical propaganda shall be improved. To this purpose:

The role of the participation of the NTS in the Plovdiv International Fair shall be enhanced; the implemented measures shall be related to the topics of the fair, the exhibited items, and our export policy;

Activities related to motion picture and photographic propaganda, the organization of or participation in exhibits, participation in Bulgarian science and technology days abroad and days of science and technology of other countries in Bulgaria, as well as the independent organization of Bulgarian science and technology days abroad shall be improved;

Specialized scientific and technical lecture propaganda shall be expanded and improved by making topics more topical and aimed at assisting production work. Relations and cooperation with the G. Kirkov Society regarding mass and specialized scientific and technical lecture propaganda shall be refined;

Methodical guidance of the union's periodical scientific and technical press--periodicals and the newspaper TEKHNICHESKO DELO, as a unified system, shall be improved. The editing of scientific and technical periodicals and of TEKHNICHESKO DELO shall be improved decisively: along with the publication of scientific articles topical scientific and technical national economic problems shall be reflected.

16. The NTS shall expand and improve their international activities by enhancing considerably cooperation and rapprochement between the NTS and the USSR VSNTU. Cooperation shall be improved with related organizations in other socialist countries; the NTS shall energize its participation in international general engineering and specialized organizations, particularly with those of the Balkan and developing countries.

The use of international efforts to study and apply the available experience of other countries and, above all, the rich experience of the Soviet Union and that of the other socialist countries shall be intensified decisively.

The NTS Central Council and the central managements of sectorial unions shall increase their exactingness concerning specialists assigned to participate in events abroad related to the tasks of the NTS.

17. The NTS authorities and organizations shall expand, intensify, and steadily improve traditional relations, interaction, cooperation, and mutual aid with the authorities and organizations of the Bulgarian trade unions at all levels in order to enhance the technical standards of the working people and mobilize them for active participation in the implementation of economic

tasks, and upgrading the quality of goods and production effectiveness. The planning and coordination of joint work shall be increased.

18. The NTS shall decisively expand and improve reciprocal relations and cooperation between its authorities and organizations and those of the Komsomol. Greater assistance shall be given to the Komsomol for the solution of its responsible problems related to the youth and, particularly, the development of the movement for youth technical and scientific creativity and the ideological and political education and development of the young specialists as active, creative members of the socialist society.

19. The activities and effectiveness of consultative and other NTS authorities--committees, councils, and sections--shall be strengthened and steadily improved; assistance shall be provided in the building of a national politechnical museum and the addition to museum collections.

The NTS central and okrug councils and the NTD shall pay particular attention and efforts for the development and improvement of the activities of the local and central control commissions, for raising the standard of social influence in the solution of problems of standardization, metrology, and quality; the NTS okrug councils shall energize the activities of the IUSIT in training specialists in the field of quality problems; the NTD shall make extensive use of Council of Ministers resolution number 59 in the elaboration of scientific and technical problems in this field.

III. Improving the Organization and Organizational Work of the Scientific and Technical Unions

20. The unified scientific and technical societies shall be strengthened comprehensively in order to insure the comprehensive and effective solution of the problems of scientific and technical progress and production in economic organizations, enterprises, and agroindustrial complexes, assuming the functions of production-technical councils in charge of scientific and technical and economic problems.

The NTS Central Council shall improve the ways and means of planning and accounting of union activities.

The okrug councils shall provide direct guidance to the scientific and technical societies in their activities and direct such activities to promoting production modernization and resolving topical problems of enterprises, economic organizations, and agroindustrial complexes.

21. The NTS central and okrug councils shall organize promptly the development of specialized technical services to engage in administrative, financial, and technical activities common to all unions and branches, so that the central and okrug sectorial and other units may be freed for resolving the problems of sectorial scientific and technical progress.

22. The organizational work of the NTS shall be raised to a considerably higher level. To this purpose, the NTS central and okrug councils and the NTD shall:

Improve decisively their style and methods of work and engage in extensive, collective discussions and solutions of all problems aimed at eliminating formalism and bureaucracy in their work;

Enhance the role of society meetings and plenary sessions of NTS central and okrug councils which shall review important problems of scientific and technical progress and output on which the NTS provide public assistance and help to the respective state and economic authorities; the conclusion of agreements, contracts, and others regulating the joint activities of all NTS authorities and all scientific and technical societies with respective state and economic authorities and organizations shall be promoted extensively.

23. The necessary efforts and concern shall be dedicated to improving the unions' material facilities. To this purpose:

The building of the planned, new technology homes must be insured, beginning with the building of the technology homes in Burgas and Varna. Technology clubs shall be opened in the bigger cities and industrial centers;

Gradually technology homes and clubs shall be equipped with modern, technical and other facilities.

The NTS okrug councils and sectorial managements shall insure the full utilization of technology homes and clubs and their conversion into real centers of scientific and technical thought and activities in their respective okrug and other cities.

The sixth NTS congress calls upon all engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists, economists, inventors, and rationalizers to engage in tireless, creative toil under the leadership of the BCP for exerting the most energetic and effective social influence in the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th congress, the implementation of the seventh five-year plan slogan for high quality and effectiveness in all activities, and for insuring the technical and economic upsurge of our socialist homeland.

5003

CSO: 2200

WRITER EXPOSES NEGATIVE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF SELF-SEEKING

Sofia LITERATURE FRONT in Bulgarian 21 Apr 77 p 3

[Article by Emil Manov: "Self Expression or Careerism; A Few Words on a Phenomenon Familiar to All"]

[Text] Which one of us, the living, does not want to advance in life, to assume a better social position, to obtain more material goods, moral satisfaction, and even fame from his work? Does the worker not wish to become a foreman; the employee, chief; the cooperative farmer, brigade leader; the military serviceman to mount in grade or position; the scientist to gain a degree and a title; or the musician, writer, painter, or architect to gain recognition? Few people would remain totally indifferent to money, titles, and rewards.

Would this mean that all of us, small and big, from the street sweeper to the minister, who wants to have a career would be, consequently...careerists?

It is hardly likely that someone would undertake seriously to support such an idea. Furthermore, I know a number of people who are not willing to sacrifice the public interest, at least in a way they conceive it, for the sake of personal advantages. On the other hand, I see nothing bad in the aspiration inherent in man to express himself and gain recognition. Without such an aspiration human society would probably become degraded and fade out from an atrophy of mind and muscles...our communist dream calls for the free development of good human talents, for a society of individuals rather than of anonymity.

Obviously, an essential difference exists between the normal aspiration for self expression and prosperity and careerism, i.e., the aspirations of the careerists. Otherwise the people would not pronounce such words with mockery, scorn, and anger. God forbid for the blind man to see; if you want to see his brain give him power; swollen head; yes-man; duty; boot liquor; pickpocket; oiler; jingo; he takes his hat off to the strong and waves a stick to the weak; flatterer; hypocrite, and so on, are all sayings and adjectives used by our people to describe the careerists and careerism.

Think of Botev's "he's a patriot, he gives his heart to science and freedom!" Vazov: "Like all intelligent people I do not step on thorns barefoot..."; Smirnenski's "Tale of the Ladder"; the people's poets, in their own way and in a topical manner, have noted this "phenomenon"... Remember Aleko's ironic exclamation in his article on Konstantin Velichkov: "Ideals? Humbug!"...

This exclamation contains, perhaps, the main truth about the careerists, including our "socialist" careerists: a person without ideals. Whether he was born thus or lost them subsequently is immaterial. Naturally, there are no 100 per cent "pure" phenomena in nature and, perhaps, there are no sterile-pure careerists, for every person, even a vulgar criminal, always find some kind of "ideological" or "moral" justification for his actions. However, we speak here not of that which the careerists thinks about himself or which he says, but of what he is in reality, and Aleko's definition remains valid.

It is not particularly difficult to identify the careerist: suffice it to check his behavior over two-three years or, occasionally, only two or three months. Let me cite here two or three typical cases. Here is the first: an acquaintance of mine, a middle level employee and slightly older than middle aged. I liked this person. He was sensible, fun-loving, and liked his work. He spoke with concern about matters in his office and was indignant at some of his colleagues who, for the sake of their careers, ignored irregularity, tried to "show-off" in front of superiors, and so on. One day he told me that one of those "show-offs" had made a tremendous leap in his service and had found himself in a command position. At first my acquaintance was disturbed after which, for a long time, he became thoughtful. He then developed a kind of melancholy and sometimes sighed: was it not Quixotic to try to mend things? The years go by and ones hair is already grey and one has remained a small fish. He then began talking of the "master of the big leap" not only without dislike but with unconcealed envy mixed with admiration: he had been able to step on the others, served the idiots well, and so on. One nice day my acquaintance too leaped upwards. Not only leaped but became a close confidant of the successful "show-off", while I thought to myself how contagious a "good" example may be...Here is another case. A relatively young and capable engineer (not in the field of human engineering, even though among such people as well such cases are found) tried for quite some time to promote new technological ideas in his plant but was forced to resign, since the people had a plan to fulfill and, for some reason, did not like this talented person. The engineer went to another plant and the same thing happened. Then he found a position with a scientific institute and the same thing happened yet once again. Once, slightly drunk, the engineer told his friends that he was fed up with being tossed around by various nincompoops and with being the fifth wheel of the cart, and pledged to make a career. The very next day (maybe not the very next day) he acknowledged as accurate the criticism of the institute's management, abandoned his innovational ideas, and praised the wise leadership of the comrade director. Several months later he became deputy director of the institute, considered an exceptionally capable young scientist, and is now virtually managing the institute. I was introduced to him: a seemingly modest person, not deprived, it seems to me, of certain scruples, and an interesting conversationalist. He described to

me the work of his institute. When I asked him what he himself was doing, i.e., what was the scientific work he was working on, he smiled somewhat strangely: "As you may see, I am managing science," while I thought that there are more candidates for managing science than for making science.... Here is a third case. Several years ago I had a casual conversation with a casual acquaintance. We discussed the bad sides of our life and things which no single citizen could ignore. I became somewhat excited while he was looking at me and smiled like a sage who knew all the truths of history. He kept nodding. I thought that we had found a common language or, at least, that I had found a person concerned with the future of our society. At one point, however, he exclaimed ironically: "What? Communism?" and shook his head as though he was facing a naive little boy. I thought...actually, I do not remember what precisely I thought then, but I remember saying that with such a "philosophy" man either commits suicide or becomes a provocateur. Now I think that three-quarters of the so-called careerists are common cynics, for that accidental acquaintance of mine neither committed suicide nor became a provocateur. He simply found himself a better position and opened a savings account. I came across him once. He had put on some weight, looked complacent, and began to mention the organizational faults in his establishment which, according to him, were based on a "rotten ideological ground"....

I could name ten more such cases within the range of my small practical experience. However, the varieties of careerism and of careerists are so numerous and varied that we could hardly exhaust them. Furthermore, it isn't worth it, for the people, our public, have long become accustomed to identify them. This is a guarantee for their historical non-durability, even though, biologically, all-in-all they have long lives...However, since these examples are approximately of the same kind, let us mention, for the sake of a broader coverage, two more types of careerists: some are among those who, before the revolution, kept to themselves and looked after themselves and after it hurried to catch-up with statements of "loyalty" and activeness, again for the sake of looking after themselves: the others come from among the former opponents of socialism or their offspring who, realizing that there is no turning back, at first imperceptibly, using connections and patrons and, subsequently, ever more clearly, are sneaking into cozy places, mainly in the "intellectual professions" and, sometimes, find themselves in managing positions. Such careerists are usually flexible, sharp, always agreeing to everything, and extremely suitable to naive superiors to whom they are always unquestionably "loyal"....

Naturally, I am not speaking here of the honest people from the formerly intellectual or bourgeois circles who have sincerely revised their views and have become part of the new life. As early as the anti-fascist struggle, in the 1930's and 1940's, there had been a number of cases of such an ideological rearmament, which was one of the indicators of the party's great political influence.

The main feature in the nature of careerism (and of the careerist) is a ruthless aspiration toward personal prosperity and toward achieving personal

objectives of a various nature and various shadings (higher social position, money, fame, power) which, in the final account, blend within the common concept of career.

This circumstance is reflected on the careerist's concept of the moral values in life, inevitably lowering his criterion concerning such values. Even when supporting a standpoint correct in itself or a useful idea he does not consider the social results of his activities but the benefits which such activities would have for his own life. This may be bluntly stated but is essentially the case.

Hence the "methodology" of careerism known to all: flattery, one of the principal means for winning the disposition and support of the "strong of the day"; lack of principles and chameleonism developed into a principle or, conversely, the relatively firm support of a given position if profitable...; characteristic ways of fighting rivals, ranging from "principled" arguments to which the careerist usually ascribe a discriminatory coloring, to whispering behind one's back, slanders, or informing; tendency to be surrounded by people and seek allies of his kind, i.e., that which we call groupism and which the people describe more simply as a chain link...; constant concern to avoid being blamed for a "error", for which reason expressing eternal and unreserved agreement with any fashionable or already proven thesis; desire to "get along with everyone", naturally, to the extent to which this would not compromise him; readiness to engage in a certain "risk" only when he feels his career threatened, and so on, and so forth.

As to the ideological and psychological nature of the careerist, obviously, it could be defined with three words: petty bourgeois individualism. The careerist is spiritually alien to any great human idea, including the ideas of communism. He is petty bourgeois, petty politician in life who tries to use all circumstances to come closer to the "ideal" of the "big bourgeois": security, power, prosperity.

It is also obvious that in our socialist society this "phenomenon" is not only counter-indicated but particularly degenerate, bearing in mind socialist social relations, law, morality, and others. The careerist is not only a person of reduced morality or of immorality but a type of "exploiter": he always manages to take for himself an unearned, large share of the social product by displaying a particular understanding of the principle of "to everyone according to his capabilities".

Where should we seek the social roots of careerism in our society?

Before the revolution we were an industrially undeveloped country, a country of petty, private ownership. Over 70 per cent of the population consisted of petty farmers, artisans, merchants, and so on. The revolution eliminated from our lives the bourgeoisie as a class and the tremendous masses of former petty owners became part, one way or another, of the socialist forms of life in terms of the economy and their social positions. However, a mentality, as we know, changes with far greater difficulty compared with socioeconomic

conditions, and the former petty owner (in any case, the declassé and lumpenized segment of the petty bourgeoisie), deprived of ownership and of the illusion it could bring him wealth and security, sought other means to achieve this objective. In our view, it is here that we should look for the main source of careerism, consumerism (obtaining from society as much as possible and giving to society as little as possible), modern philistinism, outcrops of love of power, a number of antisocial actions, and so on, which are all manifestations of the same type and of the same origin.

All this explains the phenomenon to a certain extent. For, in order to establish a certain subjective "tuning" we need not only "special" personal qualities but specific objective conditions. One may wish to steal but if there is nothing to steal or if there is no way to steal one would be satisfied with what one has. One could be burning with the desire for a headlong career. However, should one be limited by the natural restrictions of one's own capabilities, one could rely on them only...Do objective conditions still exist in our country for the manifestation of the "petty bourgeois element"...in the field of careerism?

They exist. In the first place, they include the historical fact that we have just emerged from a society based on private ownership and that the existing production forces, however energetically we may develop them, are still insufficient for converting from "to each according to his labor" to "to each according to his needs". In other words, in our society the distribution of the social product is based inevitably on inequality; hence the inevitable aspiration to acquire more of this product, an aspiration which, in some cases, grows into careerism. Second is the hierarchical structure (also inevitable) of our society in which the public wealth is used in accordance with the person's position in the hierarchy. Thirdly, and, perhaps, as a specific condition, mainly, at this time, is the swollen bureaucracy triggered initially also by "natural needs" (such as; for example, the management of state and public property and the production process, the struggle with the class enemy, and the complex foreign political conditions), which has gradually become an autonomous force and even a hinderance to our social development; bureaucracies related to disparities in wages, the "feeling of power", and a number of possibilities for factual privileges. These are all factors which draw the thirsty look of the careerist.

Therefore, the problem of an effective struggle against careerism and a consumer attitude toward life is not only a problem of educational work or of eliminating negative "personal examples". It is a problem related, in our view, to changing some important aspects in economic and social life, as discussed at the July Party Central Committee Plenum. The solution of this problem is neither simple nor easy.

Does all this mean that we must idly "wait" for the advent of communism for the sake of getting rid of careerism and the related disgrace in our life?

Naturally, no. As a way of ignoring the public and people's interest, and of spiritual corruption which creates a sick, contagious social atmosphere, careerism is too dangerous a phenomenon to be tolerated. It is no accident that of late our information media have intensified their criticism of a number of economic and social ills in the spirit of the July Plenum. Leaving aside other measures, should the media not pay greater attention to the study of careerism and to the specific struggle against careerists in our society?

Had we had a computer which could determine the losses and seek the reasons for such losses in the national economy or in our national culture, it would inevitably come close to the topic of bureaucracy and careerism and the social climate which the amateurs of an easy life and easy profits create and benefit from.

5003

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUSAK HAILS WARSAW PEACE BUILDERS RALLY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 May 77 p 1 AU

[Greetings message from Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, to the participants of the World Peace Builders Assembly, which opened on 6 May in Warsaw: "In the Interests of Peaceful Cooperation"]

[Text] Esteemed friends, in the name of the CPCZ, the CSSR Government and all Czechoslovak people I send the World Peace Builders Assembly sincere greetings and wishes for complete success in your negotiations.

The Warsaw assembly is convening at a time when the forces of peace have attained further progress in fighting for detente in international relations, for security and cooperation among the peoples. These successes have been attained in spite of the resistance of the forces of imperialism, reaction and militarism which are striving in every way to prevent the progress of peace-loving forces, to halt the detente process and to aggravate the international situation.

The past 2 years have shown that the materialization of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act has positively influenced, and is influencing, the overall development of relations on the European continent, confirming that only on the basis of these principles and of respect for them can the relations of mutual understanding and confidence among states and people be created. The Belgrade meeting of prerepresentatives of the state that participated in the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], which is being prepared, should serve the exchange of positive experience on how the Final Act is being implemented in life and also of opinions on the further course in this direction in intensifying the process of detente and developing cooperation in Europe and in other parts of the world. For surely it is important to strengthen security, consolidate friendship and develop peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation on all continents, on the road toward peace while concretely reducing tension.

One of the primary and urgent aims of the present times is to take specific steps to limit and halt the continuing feverish armament and for disarming. The struggle for detente and for safeguarding peace is indivisibly tied to the efforts for pushing through new international economic relations as the basis for solving many pressing problems facing mankind today. The peace movement can contribute significantly toward establishing the prerequisites for achieving all these aims.

The CSSR people are firm supporters of the cause of peace, friendship and cooperation among the peoples. In keeping with their longings and vital interests, our republic is actively participating in the common fight of progressive, democratic and peace forces of the whole world for peace and for averting the threat of war. Loyal to their deeply rooted democratic traditions, the people of our country express their solidary support for the peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and reaction; for their freedom and independence and for progress and peace in the world. By successfully fulfilling the program of building the developed socialist society in harmony with the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, the working people of socialist Czechoslovakia are fulfilling the ideas of the victorious October Revolution, the 60th anniversary of which we will be commemorating this year together with progressive people throughout the world.

Permit me, esteemed friends, to wish the World Peace Builders Assembly once again a lot of luck and success and to express the conviction that your negotiations will contribute toward further strengthening the authority of the world peace movement.

Signed: Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR CLAIMS HELSINKI FULFILLMENT IN CULTURE

Deputy Minister: Culture Exchange Flourishes

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr 77 p 5

[Article by Josef Svagera: "In Our Country We Are Fulfilling the Agreements-- Final Act of Helsinki Applied in Everyday Culture Policies"]

[Text] Cultural exchange between states with different social systems has become in recent years an important factor of international cooperation and if understood in terms of wider knowledge of real values, it brings advantages to all parties concerned.

For that reason the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has adopted the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference as a confirmation of its traditional policy in that area, because one of the basic traits of socialist culture policy is to make accessible important cultural values from all over the world.

As a country situated in the center of Europe and on the western borders of the socialist community, we consider this process of comparing and adopting cultural wealth as an unavoidable factor of the development of culture itself, as a key to the understanding of other countries' spiritual life as well as the general evidence of the level of society as such.

Our standpoint has been clearly formulated at the Helsinki Conference by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, as follows: "We consider the broadest possible accessibility of mankind's genuine cultural values to be an important viewpoint of man's multiform development. For that reason we support the broadest possible mutual inspiration by cultural wealth, the exchange of ideas and information serving peaceful understanding and man's multiform development."

Almost 2 years passed since the Helsinki Conference and that offers an opportunity to assess how seriously individual states have dealt with its final recommendations and how they fulfilled them.

The international cultural exchange in the CSSR is being fulfilled in the form of bilateral agreements as well as by means of broad commercial and non-commercial contacts, including participation not only of institutions but also individuals.

At present, the CSSR has concluded cultural agreements with 54 states and is preparing similar documents with other countries. Their specific proposals outline various methods of getting mutually acquainted and of comparing and adopting cultural activities that would foster deeper understanding and play an important role in strengthening friendly relations among nations.

In such summing up statistics may be used as an aid and the purpose of such an exchange may be assessed according to the extent of our culture's actual contribution to the culture of other countries. It is a remarkable fact that particularly in recent years our culture inspired such a dialogue of values. I should like to mention at random the exhibition "Ten Centuries of Our Art" in Paris; the tours of the Czech Philharmonic and other soloists in Japan; Prague Quadriennale; the contribution by our opera directors to the development of musical drama in several European countries and in Japan; several first prizes and gold medals won in various interpretative competitions and fine arts exhibits; the response to the exhibit of our baroque art in Essen as well as the UNESCO congress held in the CSSR on the subject of preservation of historical residences and areas, etc. A characteristic contribution to the interpretation of historical legacy in fine arts was the opening to the public of the collections of old Czech art in the Jirsky monastery.

As for the data of statistical nature, those also reflect the policy of one or another country and serve as a proof of its cultural achievements. Many examples from the past year speak convincingly.

Our citizens enjoy wide opportunities to get acquainted with cultural values of other countries. This is significantly aided by the policy of our publishing houses which have contacts with foremost partner companies in numerous countries. In 1976 alone, contracts were obtained for the Czech edition of almost 600 foreign novels. Moreover, such books are published in our country in incomparably higher printings than books in the non-socialist world.

In addition, Artia is publishing books in several world languages and also distributes and co-produces them. In 1976, 48 titles with 1 million copies have been published for the socialist countries and 220 titles with 3.1 million copies were published for other countries.

Thematic sales exhibits of prominent world publishing houses, particularly those from the FRG, France, Italy, England and United States, are systematically organized in our country and especially books dealing with fine arts, medicine, historical sciences and tourist guides are extremely popular.

Also, the library network of the CSSR has been incorporated in the system of the international lending service in which it cooperates with 501 institutions in 70 countries, 115 of them in socialist countries, 347 in non-socialist and 39 institutions in developing countries.

Our theaters stage many dramatic works by foreign authors which offer the Czech viewer a considerable review of the production of world theaters. In 1976 alone, 73 contracts have been signed for production of plays from socialist countries and 99 contracts for plays from other countries.

In this context it should be mentioned that during the same period the non-socialist countries signed no more than nine contracts for production of dramatic works by Czech authors.

The international exchange of our orchestras and soloists has developed to a hitherto unseen extent. Czechoslovak performing artists are regularly participating in the H. von Karajan Conducting Competition in West Berlin and in competitions in Italy, Switzerland, England and other countries. In 1976, 1,924 performances of Czechoslovak concert artists and ensembles took place abroad, of which 1,350 in the socialist and 574 in other countries. For instance, there were 91 tours in the GDR, 45 in Austria, 24 in France, 40 in the Scandinavian countries, etc.

During the same period 403 artists and orchestras, 290 of them from the socialist and 113 from other countries, arrived in the CSSR within the framework of the action of the Ministry of Culture of the CSR and the Pragokonzert artists' agency.

Our public has become also extensively acquainted through music and records with other nations' musical culture. A total of 293 musical works were published in the edition of minor musical genres in the CSR in 1976, of which 3.5 percent accounted for the socialist countries, 17.5 for other countries, and the rest for domestic works.

The Supraphon Agency cooperates with foremost foreign companies, such as Nippon Columbia, and with prominent foreign conductors, as for example, D. Fischer-Dieskau, O. Dannon and others.

In our country we are successfully developing the tradition of great international festivals which we initiated during the era of socialism and whose international significance is indisputable, such as the Prague Spring Festival which plays host every year to outstanding ensembles and artists from many countries, and so do also the Bratislava music festivals and the Brno Autumn Festival. Last year the Prague Quadriennale--a review of creativity and a get-together of stage designers and stage artists--met with such an overwhelming response as never before. The Bratislava Biennale of Illustrators also has its acknowledged tradition.

In the CSSR, not only professional artists but also amateur musical interpretations enjoy effective support in connection with international contacts. During 1976, 122 amateur artists and performing ensembles visited the CSSR, of which 102 were from the socialist and 20 from the non-socialist countries; 133 Czech amateur artists and ensembles were sent abroad, 87 of them to socialist and 46 to non-socialist countries.

An important part of the cultural life in the CSSR are the exhibits of foreign fine arts, modern as well as classic. At the occasion of the newly installed collection of old Czech and European art at the National Gallery in 1976, a symposium was held attended by 60 leading workers of world galleries and collections; the care provided by the state in the preservation of the world cultural heritage as well as the unique way in which those collections were exhibited were highly praised.

That, however, does not by far exhaust our exhibitions. The Czechoslovak enterprise Vystavnictvi [Exhibitions] installed exhibits covering various areas of the arts in 18 foreign cities in the past year, for example, in Munich, Paris, Montreal, Helsinki, Berlin and Sochi.

Days of Culture are becoming an example of a broadly based conception of joint cultural endeavors. They are not only festivals of culture and reviews of the top cultural values but at the same time they also serve as workshops for discussions between the artists and cultural workers of the host countries. As for socialist countries, let us mention the Days of Soviet Culture in 1975, the Days of Hungarian Culture in 1977, the Days of Entertaining Art With the GDR (1976), etc. We have further organized in our country the Days of Finnish, Mexican and Tunisian Cultures, and in Sweden and Belgium the Days of Czechoslovak Culture. In the autumn of 1976, Days of Czechoslovak Music took place in Japan where in addition to the thousands concertgoers, millions of television viewers could watch concerts of our and Japanese musicians for 3 months; early this year the broadly conceived Days of Czechoslovak Culture presented in Portugal included daily radio programs.

At least some of the international cultural activities in cooperation with non-socialist countries which achieved the greatest response should be mentioned. The popularity of the exhibit Ten Centuries of Czech and Slovak Art in Paris was echoed in several capitalist countries, many of which were interested in its repetition.

In theoretical, scholarly and research studies in the area of culture, Czechoslovak institutions and organizations signed specific agreements of cooperation with foreign partners. The CSSR is also very actively involved in activities of governmental and non-governmental organizations, such as UNESCO or scores of cultural organizations of a specialized nature, where many of our artists or scientists are serving as leading officials. An active international cooperation is being developed also by our art unions.

The development of art and culture whose part is an expansion of the international cultural exchanges in the spirit of detente and strengthening of peaceful coexistence is an indivisible factor in the development of the spiritual life of our society. The concept of culture and cultural education in the broadest sense of the word are merging more and more with the concept of the socialist way of life in our country. The cultural development is an important factor of inspirational character and a testimony of the maturity of our society; it offers valuable evidence of our state's intention to fulfill the Final Act of Helsinki in deeds.

Editorial Scores London Counterclaims

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr 77 p 5

[Comment by (K1): "Little Meditations--Who Is Willing and Who Is Not"]

[Text] The article by Comrade Josef Svagera, deputy minister of culture of the CSR, on this page documents with facts how we have fulfilled the Final Act of Helsinki in our country's cultural activity. This is--and was--nothing new to us. Actually, it is one of the cornerstones of the Leninist cultural policy to make important cultural values accessible to the widest masses of the working people. Comrade Svagera mentions an area which belongs under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture of the CSR. Let us also mention film, television and radio. Because of them, we are introduced every day to works of quality created not only in our country but all over the world. For example, anyone who glances at the listings of weekly programs of movie theaters in Prague and compares them with similar listings from any large city in the West, cannot help noticing that our viewer enjoys an incomparably richer opportunity to get acquainted with the works of foreign culture and to view a wider spectre of works of art. Anyway, let us mention one fact: at the present, films totaling 33 movie productions literally from all over the world are being presented in our cinemas. For example, next to 473 pictures of our production and next to films from fraternal socialist film studios, our cinemas are showing these days a total of 82 U.S. films, 65 French, 34 English, 33 from the GDR, 29 Italian, 20 Spanish, 12 Japanese and among others, for instance, also 3 from the Netherlands whose film production is by no means a very large one. This means a total of 2,549 copies and additional 2,000 8 mm film copies from the non-socialist countries only. Our international film festival in Karlovy Vary which every other year alternates with Moscow introduced to the world in its 20 years of existence, for instance, the film production of India and other countries. Its Open Tribune and Symposium of Young African and Latin American Film Production offer a great opportunity for mutual meetings and understanding. All these facts are generally recognized, as is the annual Prague International Television Festival, etc. Such is the truth.

The British daily THE TIMES of 13 April in an article by one Mr Precan, obviously an emigre, writes that our leaders allegedly were thinking that "by cutting off Czechoslovakia from the rest of the world, from European culture and its spiritual heritage, they could build an almost impassable moat around her."

Old wise men used to say long ago that if gods wished to punish someone they would strike that person with blindness. How can one characterize such blindness, such a deed? As a contribution to mutual understanding? As an intent to inform the readers truthfully? Who is depriving whom of knowledge of other nation's culture? We who are presenting films and dramas, translating books, etc., or the film festival in the French resort city of Cannes which this year again stubbornly and blindly refused to accept any films from Czechoslovakia? Our reality needs no defense.

However, those on the other side cannot speak the truth because they are at loggerheads with it, because it does not play their tune. Those on the other side are trying to deepen the moats which are supposed to "protect" their readers from learning about our socialist society because it knocks down their propaganda.

Therefore, it is a small wonder that Western tourists are astonished when they come to our country and see with their own eyes what, for instance, the Munich daily SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG called "Potemkin's villages" when it was at the end of its wits. Let us not be surprised that our guests often are not proud of their propagandists. That is not our fault.

9004

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KABRHELOVA COMMENTS ON THE GABRIEL CASE

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 23 Apr 77 p 3

[Comment by Marie Kabrhelova, member of the secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Women: "About a Czechoslovak Citizen's Open Letter to President Carter"]

[Text] All over our country not one citizen may be found who would not feel profound indignation upon reading a Czechoslovak mother's open letter to the U.S. President J. Carter, published in RUDE PRAVO. And in particular we, Czechoslovak women and mothers, cannot remain indifferent in the face of inhuman injustice committed by the U.S. authorities against the Czechoslovak citizen Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova and her children. As a matter of fact, we, the women, can feel exactly the real extent of the tragic fate of a mother who has been denied her right to her own children.

The relation between mother and child is one of the strongest human emotions; mother's right to care for her own child and to bring it up is a basic, inalienable human right. And this very right has been brutally violated by the authorities of a country that has for decades claimed the prerogative of preaching on human rights and democracy to the rest of the world.

The court in San Bernardino issued a decision with which no real mother in the world could be reconciled. It is a cruel irony that such a decision was issued by a court of the United States which by signing the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference has taken upon itself the obligation of respecting every mother's fundamental right to bring up her children in their mother tongue.

In her letter to the President of the United States, Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova wrote that to her such a decision was incomprehensible and unacceptable. The attitude of the U.S. authorities is incomprehensible and unacceptable also to all Czechoslovak mothers who are fulfilling their noble maternal mission with genuine love and responsibility, as do all real mothers in the world.

They are rightfully asking what kind of persons were those who denied one of the basic human rights to a mother and what aims were they following.

Many Czechoslovak women had had similar experience in the past but at that time their children were snatched away from them by fascism about which we all know that it is the most reactionary and most criminal product of the modern era and about which we also know that even today it is taking children away from their mothers' arms. How many children never returned from concentration camps to the women of Lidice; how many Chilean women and children are suffering together in prisons and concentration camps!

Nothing can replace mother's love and care to a child. Therefore, our women condemned the U.S. court decision as inhuman, as an expression of contempt for the fundamental human rights whose analogy we hardly could find anywhere but in the brutality of fascism itself.

The U.S. authorities feared that Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova would not take proper care of her children. It is interesting that they are not prompted by the same concern when it concerns children in their own country. International statistics pertaining to the United States which has described itself as the richest country in the world, testify that hundreds of thousands of children there are suffering from malnutrition and living in poverty and illiteracy. Statistical data on its youth's criminality, drug addiction, etc., have reached a disturbing level in recent years. From the UNICEF statistics it appears that although in the United States child labor was prohibited by law already 30 years ago, 1 of every 5 agricultural laborers is a child, which means that about 800,000 children are working in agriculture alone. At least 2.4 million children in ages ranging from 7 to 19 years have formed an enormous army of "unregistered" youngsters in the United States. Most of them have never attended school. And we could go on and on, not even mentioning unemployment, racial discrimination, etc.

We, the Czechoslovak women, have been living for 30 years already in a socialist society where children's welfare is not just a family's private affair but a society-wide concern, where children are experiencing a happy, joyful and satisfied childhood, where every family has confidence in life and social securities. In the same way we do not consider Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova's claim as her private concern only. The Czechoslovak Union of Women and the Czechoslovak women are decisively supporting this mother's right to her own children with whom she would live in our beautiful country.

The open letter by one of our mothers who even after long years has not given up her fight for her children offers now an opportunity for President Carter to prove what he meant by his declarations on civil and human rights.

9004
CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOVIET JOURNALIST PRAISES HUSAK

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Apr. 77 p 7

[Letter to RUDE PRAVO by Evgeniy Chernov, Soviet journalist: "April Meditation"]

[Text] The press recently announced the birth of the 15 millionth citizen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. That little citizen was born in March 1977. And a little more than 8 years ago, in March 1969, one man on the bank of the Danube river in Bratislava tried to convince me that the Czechoslovak nation was "fated to die out."

"Nobody believes in the future anymore," he glumly stated. "Women do not want to bear any children, because they fear for their children's fate. In about 10 years we shall close all our day-care centers and kindergartens."

My companion was not alone in his gloomy prophecy at that time.

During that springtime long ago political storms were raging over the country, dragging many people into their whirlwind. The entire republic, society and party were undergoing a period of deep political crisis.

The communists were facing a difficult task to overcome serious obstacles. They had to fight for their ideals, for the future of their native land and for the consciousness of their people. And that struggle developed immediately after the April meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee in the unforgettable year 1969....

To diminish the importance of that fight would be, in my opinion, unforgivable in face of the history, in face of the victory of the communist party in the struggle for the minds and hearts of the people who had been poisoned over a long time by the false slogans of the proponents of "Prague Spring."

The whole country became a battlefield. Every stratum of its society joined the struggle.

Today the fabrications of certain Western "experts" sound as nonsense when they allege that after the defeat of the counterrevolution the Czechoslovak society turned passive and indifferent to everything that was going on in the country. Such a statement would mean no less than to ignore the national pride of the Czechs and Slovaks.

During the many years of my journalistic work in Czechoslovakia I was always impressed by its people's sincerity, their openness on this or that question, criticism of shortcomings, often an acerbic one and without regard to personalities, and their indomitable desire to grasp the truth by means of arguments, analyses and comparisons. Such nation has never been and never will be passive to what is happening in their country. And the struggle for man was becoming more fierce and complex in that difficult period for that very reason.

The country was overwhelmed by an avalanche of broadcasts from the West which confused, disinformed and prophesied that the Czechoslovak state would soon be annihilated; it urged the people to disobedience. The main concern of the enemies of the socialist Czechoslovakia, of course, was their ardent wish to implant in the people's consciousness anti-communist and anti-Soviet ideas.

The bourgeois ideologists maintained that after the April meeting of the Central Committee in 1969 the Czechoslovak communists would not tolerate in the country any free exchange of views and impose their principles by a dictatum....

If that were really so then the communists would have had an easy and simple life. I haven't seen then anything of that sort in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia's best sons and daughters had to prove in every area of life--in economy, politics and ideology--their rightness, their faith in the correct choice of the socialist path for their country, and their devotion to proletarian internationalism. They had to prove it by words and deeds.

It was a pleasure to see how fast the communists could make contacts with scientists, workers and farmers. They courageously approached the people wherever passions were coming to a boil and the most explosive discussions were taking place.

Indeed, the communists did not always return as victors from meetings or debates with the population. Malicious individuals slandered them and wrote them anonymous letters. In the West they were characterized as the privileged elite. And this "elite" indefatigably and without any respite performed a truly titanic work in enterprises and in the fields, in institutes and in editorial offices, in assemblies and in meetings.

At the same time, the communists had to fight for ideological, political and organizational unification of their ranks in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism following the heavy blow dealt to the whole party in 1968-1969. This honorable and uncompromising fight was led before the eyes of all citizens of the republic. I recall the innumerable articles by the communists in the press, their speeches on the radio and television. They did not conceal from the people that the party found itself in a difficult situation which caused enormous material and moral damages to the entire society.

Their sincerity and honesty did not violate the unity of the party with the people for one instant. Perhaps for that reason, day after day, more and more people were coming over under the banners of the communists whose entire activity confirmed that they did not imagine their life without the people's support.

The communists expected that in the people's minds and hearts hundreds of thousands of questions had accumulated concerning the real issues in the country. They had to be unbelievably patient in order to answer all such why's and wherefore's time and time again. People argued with them, expected from them proof that the path on which they were leading the country would guarantee the nation peace and happiness.

The communists' words could be always substantiated by deeds. What the communists pledged that was also done: the material standard of the population improved, the outlook for the future was strengthened and along with it, also the confidence in the party's policies was growing firmer.

At that time there were Volny, Selucky and others of their kind who are now preaching in Radio Free Europe that the communists are not representing the people's interests? Or do they perhaps consider as "the people" the authors of the so-called Charter? Having consolidated their ranks and regained confidence and support of the majority of the people, the communists were fully justified to state at the 14th party congress 2 years later: "However, with those who are standing on the other side of the river, we shall wage a consistent political struggle."

Since then 8 years passed. I come to Czechoslovakia on business almost every year and can see the enormous changes in every area of the country's life. Of course, I can also see new problems cropping up in recent years. Actually, those problems are of another sort. As an example I shall mention one of them: Not in every Czechoslovak city can young mothers place their babies in day-care centers or kindergartens. The planners are just shrugging their shoulders: they say that they did not expect that this pleasant demand would outrun the supply so fast.

Regardless of this and some other problems, I am pleased with the Czechoslovak people's serene confidence in their future. Of course, that is an invaluable achievement of the communists. I could mention scores of those whom I met in those disturbing times and who, face to face with history, proved themselves in the test of loyalty to their ideals. However complicated that time was, I recall those meetings with the greatest excitement.

Nevertheless, I should like to mention one communist whom I have never met but who, according to my deep conviction, played an important role in the revolutionary reeducation of the entire Czechoslovak nation. On many occasions at that time I was able to listen to the speeches of comrade Gustav Husak. In my view, those speeches were thoroughly substantiated and logical, emotional and comprehensible to all strata of the population. His words didn't leave anyone indifferent. His words were convincing, inspired faith in the rightness of the new party line, and strengthened the nation's trust in the CPCZ policies and socialist social system.

...When the 15 millionth citizen of the CSSR, born in March 1977, grows up and comes of age, April 1969 for him will be a distant event in history. I should like to believe, however, that when he is making decisions about his life's direction, he will read his country's history and recall with gratitude the times when a fierce battle was being waged and fought even for his own happiness and future.

9004

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SALGOVIC DEFENDS EAST BLOC'S SOCIAL, ECONOMIC RECORD

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 May 77 Morning Edition p 3 LD

[Article by Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council: "The Baton of History"]

[Text] Time passes quickly. People and cities age with each passing year, and events are replaced by other events. But there are milestones and dates which never pass from the solar calendar into the cool shade of the archives. One of these dates is 9 May 1945--the day mankind was liberated from fascism. For the Czechoslovak people this day is particularly symbolic. In fact, it was on Czechoslovak territory that the heroic Soviet troops brought to a victorious end the grimmest war the world had ever experienced.

The Czech and Slovak peoples are currently widely and triumphantly celebrating the anniversary of another important event. Seven years ago, in Prague Castle, Comrades L. I. Brezhnev, A. N. Kosygin, G. Husak and L. Strougal signed the Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Every clause of this document is permeated with our peoples' sincere friendship and fraternity and expresses the fundamental commonality of the two socialist countries.

People are vividly and gratefully mindful of all this. Every year on 9 May, Czechoslovak National Day, we pay supreme homage to those who in defending their motherland and liberating half of Europe gave their lives for peace, happiness and the freedom of our country. Majestic monuments in the chief CSSR cities and modest rural monuments are covered in luxuriant spring flowers. Adults, children and old men bow their heads to the sleeping heroes and pronounce heartfelt words of gratitude, respect and love.

My fellow countrymen are currently greeting as most cherished guests Soviet people who liberated Czechoslovakia. The republic's citizens are cordially and sincerely honoring veterans of the legendary corps of General Svoboda and participants in the Slovak national uprising and the Czech people's May uprising.

Our best songs, movies, novels, stories and penetrating scientific research are devoted to the exploits of Soviet people and to the Czechs and Slovaks who fought with them for common aims. The republic's newspapers, radio and television frequently cover this theme, and not merely during festivals. When reflecting on the glorious deeds of the past with the older generation and talking about the last war with young people we try to stress deliberately and persuasively the international character of the liberation mission of the land of the Soviets.

Throughout its 60-year history the world's first socialist state has been a striking and living example of proletarian internationalism. The inspiring ideas of Great October captured the hearts of millions and millions of people in the days and weeks immediately after the "Aurora" had fired its famous shot. The former Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed like a house of cards under the direct influence of revolutionary events in Russia.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] emerged in the twenties. Relying on the broad popular masses and utilizing the rich experience of the Soviet communists, it had acquired strong positions in our country even before the war, and during the fascist occupation it was the CPCZ that headed the Czechoslovak resistance movement. Following the liberation, it was the CPCZ that produced a constructive and considered program for the building of a new society. In 1948, following the February victory over the forces of reaction, the working people confidently chose the socialist path of development for the country.

October 1917, May 1945, February 1948! We will always string these dates together since they represent the passing from hand to hand of the baton of history. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the victory over fascism won with the decisive participation of the Soviet people, gave peace to many countries, including Czechoslovakia, and opened up a broad and shining vista of socialism and a new future. And whenever bourgeois propaganda brings out the old hackneyed thesis about the "enslaved" states of Eastern Europe and about "force-fed" socialism, we have something to say in reply.

It might have been noticed, for example, that during the years of socialist building, that is, going on 30 years, our national income has quintupled, industrial production has decupled and wages have tripled. The most highly developed capitalist state has a long way to go before it has the system of social security, education and public health which has long been the norm in the CSSR. No Western trade union has even dreamed of the level of consideration for working people which is accessible in our state to any modest enterprise, not to mention such industrial giants as the "CKD-Praha," the Plzen "Skoda" plant or Bratislava "SLOVNAFT." And let them name a single capitalist state which has a long-term program of mass housing construction and provision of modern apartments for working people!

Unable to put their own house in order, capitalism and its ideologists-- who over the several centuries of the bourgeois system's existence have not learned to care for society--are trying to teach us, maintaining that attention should be focused on the "free society" and the "individual," not the interests of the collective. No, gentlemen, we have already been through a period of "consideration" and "attention" of that nature and we know from personal experience what these demagogic appeals mean for people.

Ask any person in our country today about Orava or Kysuca and you will hear: They are miraculous corners of the republic of amazing natural beauty, with remarkable cities and villages--bright as new pins--apartment blocs, developed industry, sturdy agriculture and an all-round healthy life! Without hesitation I would call these places the visiting card of socialism.

One, before the war, they were the visiting card of the capitalist system. Bourgeois ideology loves applying the word "mass" to socialism--mockingly, of course: "mass labor," "mass culture," and "mass happiness!" In the pre-Munich republic Orava was an area of actual mass famine, mass unemployment and mass emigration. There were only 500 jobs in industry for a population of many thousands. In the period 1918-1938 alone 17,500 people emigrated from the Orava area in search of "individual" work, their "own" piece of bread and "personal" happiness.

During the years of socialist building, 18 plants have sprung up here and their products are exported to many countries. Some 20,000 workers are employed in industrial production. Over 10,000 new apartments have been constructed. The places at one time forgotten by the powerful of this world have changed beyond recognition.

Kysuca today has large enterprises and its own skilled detachment of industrial workers. It has over 400 medical workers (before the war there were three). The children of Kysuca people attend five secondary schools, two high schools and a technical school, which have appeared under socialism.

All this is the consequence of the Leninist national policy to which Czechoslovak communists have been loyal ever since the creation of the CPCZ. Ideas about the accelerated development of backward Slovakia were expounded in many prewar party documents and recorded in the celebrated Kosice Government program, formulated by the CPCZ leadership under Gottwald. And when the people assumed power in Czechoslovakia these principles became the strategy of economic, political and social building. In the new socialist state Slovakia progressed by leaps and bounds. Cooperativization, mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture worked miracles. We have had two disastrously dry years since the war, 1947 and 1967. In the first of these the grain harvest in Slovakia was 7 quintals per hectare; in the second it was 44.

With reference to the 1947 drought we must mention the international assistance of the Soviet people who were able to tap their modest postwar stocks and send us trainloads of bread. Even today the development of our agriculture is based to a considerable extent on Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. The Slovak farmers switched long ago to the growing of Soviet strains of wheat, the celebrated "Aurora," "Mironovskaya," "Bezostaya" and "Yubileynaya." By using these strains many farms are getting 70-80 and sometimes 100 quintals of grain per hectare.

Even more examples of fruitful cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA countries can be found in industry. The East Slovakia Metallurgical Combine in Kosice, the biggest in the republic, uses Soviet ore. The "SLOVNAFT" Chemical Combine in Bratislava, the biggest in the CSSR, refines Soviet oil. The aluminum plant in Zijar-Nad-Hronom was built to a Soviet plan and is supplied with Hungarian ore!

The best sons of the Czech and Slovak people who fought at the barricades of class battles and waged war alongside their Soviet brothers once dreamed of a new, just and happy state. These dreams were no abstraction. They were nurtured by powerful Marxist-Leninist teaching. They were maintained by the real and tangible, profoundly attractive and stirring experience of the land of the Soviets. We are proud that in a brief historical period of time we have been able to realize the hopes and aspirations of our fathers and implement the party's majestic plans.

And we will never forget the inspiring role played in the fate of Czechs and Slovaks by such events of the century as October 1917, the victory over the fascists in May 1945 and the entire 60-year international exploit of the Soviet people. Our happiness today would not have been possible without them.

CSO: 1800

EAST GERMANY

FRG PAPER NOTES GDR WILLINGNESS TO HOLD TALKS WITH BERLIN SENAT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Apr 77 p 4

[Article signed "Ws": "The GDR Signals the Berlin Senat Its Willingness To Hold Discussions: Topics: Teltow Canal, Territorial Exchange and New Street Crossing"]

[Text] Berlin, 25 April--While the Federal Government in Bonn is busy putting the finishing touches to a multipartite offer of negotiations to the GDR, the GDR, in turn, has made it known to the Berlin Senat that it is now interested in again starting talks with the Berlin Senat and in concluding agreements about a number of subjects which, in part for years, have been under discussion between the GDR and the Senat--so far without success. After a meeting of representatives of both sides in the Schoeneberg City Hall, GDR representative Mitdank said on Monday [25 April] that he had confirmed the readiness of the GDR to bring open questions to a positive conclusion in talks with the Senat.

Specifically, Mitdank mentioned the opening of the Teltow Canal from the West, the territorial exchange in connection with the railroad construction on the so-called "southern terrain" in West Berlin and the opening of the planned new street crossing in the north of Berlin.

The opening of the Teltow Canal from the West--long desired by inland shipping--which would save inland shipping the time-consuming "horseshoe route" via the Havel and Spree through the Inner City of East Berlin to the reshipment points on the Teltow Canal located in the south of West Berlin--had first been the subject of negotiations between the Federal Government and the GDR. Both sides then agreed in the traffic agreements in December 1975 that the GDR and the Senat should conduct "talks about the questions connected with the opening of the Teltow Canal." These "technical talks" (the only thing authorized by the three protective powers to the Senat because, in their opinion, only the Federal Government can enter into "political" agreements about the old Reich waterway) came to a standstill some time ago.

The new street crossing in the north of Berlin had also been agreed between the Federal Government and the GDR. In June last year, the GDR informed the Senat of the planned location of the crossing. The Senat, however, wants to agree to this location only if the GDR declares its readiness to sell a populated strip of terrain belonging to it, because only thus can there be a reasonable route to the planned crossing. This has already been discussed with the GDR several times, which incidentally is demanding full reimbursement of the cost of opening the crossing. It is, however, uncertain whether the GDR is now prepared to sell this "duck's bill" protruding into West Berlin to the Senat. Mitdank opined Monday that since the GDR had submitted its proposal the opening of the crossing depended on the Senat.

Concerning the so-called "southern terrain," there already exists an "agreement in principle" between the Building Administration of the Senat and the Deutsche Reichsbahn [GDR Railroad] of February 1974. What is at stake here is sizable construction changes on terrain in West Berlin territory, reaching from the sector border at Potsdamer Platz to the Insulaner. Here in the south, a new central goods depot is to be built by 1980, which would do away with the previous freight dispatch installations at the Potsdamer and Anhalter stations as well as with the unused tracks and the switchyards still being used by the Reichsbahn in that area. What is required is an intercity exchange of terrain or, more precisely, a change in usufruct, for the former German Reich in any case remains the proprietor. It is only a question of turning over for usufruct, for the purpose of operating the station and railroad installations, the GDR Reichsbahn terrain heretofore administered as "reserve assets" [Vorratsvermoegen] by the Administration of the Former Reichsbahn [Reich Railways] Assets in West Berlin and used by vegetable gardeners and, in turn, transferring terrain heretofore used by the Reichsbahn for railroad operations to that Administration, which can then make it available for the building of speedways and ordinary roads.

Just as in the case of the opening of the Teltow Canal and of the new border crossing in the north of Berlin, the GDR can figure on receiving considerable foreign currency in an agreement about the "southern terrain," for it can be assumed that the Senat will bear the greater part of the costs of building the planned freight depot, just as that it will foot the bill for again making navigable the still blocked part of the Teltow Canal on GDR territory and for the new border crossing. The Senat would also have to finance the construction of a new lock chamber for the Spandau Havel Lock, which lies in West Berlin but is operated by the GDR. This question, too, has been under discussion by the Senat and the GDR for years without any conclusion being reached so far.

Senat spokesman Struve confirmed that Mitdank had reaffirmed that East Berlin was "generally and universally" ready for negotiations, but said that Mitdank had not submitted any relevant individual proposals.

8790

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR, MONGOLIAN LEADERS ADDRESS 6 MAY EAST BERLIN DINNER

Stoph Toast

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 May 77 p 5 AU

[Toast proposed by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at a dinner given by Mongolian People's Republic MPR delegation leader Tsedenbal in Berlin on 6 May]

[Text] Dear Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal! Dear Comrade Jambyn Batmonh! Dear Mongolian Comrades and Friends! Esteemed Guests! On behalf of the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers as well as of all guests present here I think our Mongolian comrades and particularly you, dear Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, most cordially for the invitation to this festive dinner.

In the past days our two party and government delegations had many opportunities to conduct a lively exchange of views on problems of socialist construction in the GDR and in the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] and on international questions.

The unanimity of views and positions on all questions discussed was again reaffirmed. The numerous meetings with working people and the fruitful talks proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternity.

Relations of firm friendship and comradely cooperation between the GDR and the MPR are developing under the leadership of our two combat tested Marxist-Leninist parties, the SED and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP].

We regard it jointly as the greatest internationalist duty and our most noble task to do everything to further deepen the inviolable cohesion and militant community with the main force of social progress in the world, the Soviet Union, and to contribute to the unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

Today comrades Erich Honecker and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal signed the new treaty on friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the MPR. Thus the relations are being made even more comprehensive for the benefit of both states and peoples.

This friendship treaty is a culmination point of the successful development of the existing fraternal ties. It is at the same time renewed proof of the determination and continuous efforts of both countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism to strengthen and expand their traditional friendship and cooperation including all fields of social life.

The concluded treaty is most deeply in accordance with the will for peace of the peoples because the joint struggle for detente and social progress, against anticommunism and anti-Sovietism constitutes a central issue of the revolutionary world process.

The GDR and the MPR assume in this document the obligation to promote the further strengthening of peace and security in Europe, Asia and the whole world and to contribute to the development and expansion of the relations between states with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

It is now necessary to implement and fill with life the August goals and tasks anchored in this treaty. Rest assured, Dear Mongolian Friends, the GDR will do everything within its strength to loyally fulfill the obligations arising from this treaty.

In accordance with the goals and principles of socialist economic integration the GDR and the MPR will expand the mutually profitable economic and scientific-technical cooperation including cooperation within the framework of CEMA. The agreements concluded in the economic field serve this purpose.

Dear Comrades and Friends! The friendship visit of the party and government delegation of the MPR, headed by our friend Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, to the GDR is drawing to a close.

During the few days of your stay in the GDR you were able to repeatedly convince yourself of the deep friendship harbored by the GDR people for the Mongolian people. You can be certain that we will continue to stand as loyal allies at the side of the fraternal Mongolian people in the future.

I ask you to raise your glass with me and to drink:

--to the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the SED and the MPRP, between our two states and peoples,

--to the close fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the USSR and with the other fraternal parties and states of the socialist community,

--to the health of our esteemed comrades Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal and Jambyn Batmonh,

--to your health, dear Mongolian comrades and friends,

--to health of all those present here.

Batmonh Toast

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 May 77 p 5 AU

[Toast by Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] Council of Ministers, at dinner given by first secretary Tsedenbal of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] in honor of SED General Secretary Honecker in Berlin on 6 May]

[Text] Dear Comrade Honecker, Dear Comrade Stoph, Dear comrades and friends! On behalf of the MPR party-government delegation, permit me to greet you, the leading representatives of the GDR party and government, all friends from the GDR present here, most cordially. Our greeting goes to the whole diligent people of your country.

Since the very first minute of our visit to your beautiful and hospitable country we have been most warm-heartedly received everywhere, we feel as though we are among our closest friends and fellow-fighters. We see in this an expression of the deep feelings of friendship and fraternity which the peoples of our countries, the builders of socialism, feel for one another.

In the MPR it is well known that the GDR working people, led by their tested vanguard, the SED, and relying on the close alliance and the cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties, are shaping the developed socialist society and are achieving outstanding successes in all spheres of social life.

During our stay in your country we, the delegates of the Mongolian people, had the opportunity of visiting Berlin and Leipzig and of acquainting ourselves with the enthusiasm, unselfishness and initiative displayed by the working class, the working peasantry and the GDR intelligentsia in implementing the Ninth SED Congress goals.

We were deeply impressed by the great historical changes which have fundamentally altered the life of the working people and the appearance of the first worker-peasant state in the homeland of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The outstanding socioeconomic achievements of your socialist state, its consistent foreign policy constitute a firm foundation for the constant

growth of the GDR's international authority. They are an important contribution to strengthening the positions of world socialism and consolidating the forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

Dear Comrades, our talks and negotiations which have passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and fraternal mutual understanding, in the spirit of friendship and international solidarity and the documents we have signed as a result of these negotiations constitute a firm foundation and open new avenues for the constant expansion and deepening of the all-round cooperation between the MPR and the GDR, for the successful solving of the topical tasks of socialist construction in our countries. They are a convincing example of the unity of the views and actions of our Marxist-Leninist parties.

We have just returned from a stirring friendship rally of the peoples of the MPR and the GDR, which took place at the Palace of the Republic. We take pleasure in stressing that the visit of the MPR party-government delegation to your country and the signing of the new MPR-GDR treaty on friendship and cooperation are taking place at a time when the important anniversary of victory day and the 32d anniversary of the liberation from Hitlerite fascism are imminent.

We are highly satisfied with the results of our visit to your country and express to you, the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the government of the GDR as well as to you personally, dear comrades Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph, and to all GDR working people the most cordial thanks of the Mongolian people for the constantly growing aid and support in the socialist construction in the MPR.

We would like to stress that a characteristic aspect of the present phase of our present many-sided cooperation is its complex nature, which comprises the most important sectors of the national economy and all sides of the life of the people of our two fraternal countries. The firm ideological alliance between the MPRP and the SED is the unshakable fundamental of our people's cooperation. The many-sided relations developing according to plan between the parties, the state and social institutions, the art workers organizations, and the working collectives of the MPR and the GDR are creating broad possibilities for the fruitful exchange of experiences of economic and cultural construction, for the mutual enrichment of our culture and the further drawing together of our two peoples.

We express our deep conviction that the fraternal relations of friendship and close cooperation between the MPRP and the SED, between the MPR and the GDR will continue to develop and deepen for the benefit of the Mongolian and of the GDR people as well as in the interest of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, for the benefit of peace and the security of the peoples.

Permit me to wish you, dear friends and all GDR working people new, outstanding successes in implementing the historic tasks, set by the Ninth SED Congress, of shaping the developed socialist society and creating fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

I ask you to raise your glass with me and to drink:

--to the militant vanguard of the GDR, the SED,

--to the heroic diligent GDR people,

--to the SED Central Committee, to the health of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the outstanding functionary of the international communist movement, the dear friend of the Mongolian people,

--to the well-being of Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to the health of the members of the State Council and the GDR Government as well as of the other leading comrades,

--to our fraternal alliance with the great Soviet Union,

--to the unity of the community of socialist states and of the international communist and workers movement,

--to the well-being of all comrades and friends present here!

CSO: 2300

CIVIL DEFENSE NOW CONTROLLED BY NVA

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 8, Apr 77 p 7

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Affairs: "Civil Defense of the GDR Under NVA Command"]

[Text] It can be concluded from GDR press reports that GDR civil defense is no longer subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior but as of late, to the Ministry for National Defense. Included in the civil defense effort are the former Garrisoned Air Defense Battalions (around 15,000 men), which are now called "Civil Defense Deployment Forces"; in addition "Reconnaissance Forces" and other "Special Institutions" as well as armament enterprises and facilities. In an article of the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 26 March 1977 concerning a meeting on civil defense questions of Minister of Defense Heinz Hoffmann with the chairmen of the bezirk councils--who are at the same time bezirk civil defense chairmen--NVA Lieutenant General Fritz Peter (formerly temporary GDR representative at the supreme command of the Warsaw Pact states) was mentioned for the first time as "Director of the GDR Civil Defense." According to the civil defense law, the central state control of civil defense is the responsibility of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, who has to have the civil defense chief confirmed by the Council of Ministers. In the past GDR Minister of the Interior Friedrich Dickel was director of civil defense. People's Police Major General Rudolf Trinks functioned as his deputy. Trinks was at the same time the civil defense chief of staff. In newspaper reports on a civil defense exercise in November 1976, NVA Colonel Dr Rolf Fischer was mentioned for the first time as chief of staff of GDR civil defense (on the bezirk level the civil defense staffs have long been directed by NVA officers). According to press reports, only commanding NVA officers, but no representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, took part in the November exercise as well as the Hoffmann meeting in Halle with the chairmen of the bezirk councils.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

BOOK PUBLICATION FIGURES--By 1980 about 722 million books are to be published in the GDR, about 100 million copies more than in the past 5 years. Despite this, according to official information, the publication of books will not suffice to meet the demand, primarily, as in the past, for literature, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other reference books. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 5/6 May 77 p K-1]

CSO: 2300

FLIGHT SAFETY MEASURES PROPOSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 Apr 77 pp 1, 5

[Article by 1st Lt Ireneusz Czyzewski: "Further Improvement of Flight Safety"]

[Text] Broad and responsible tasks which are confronting the air force of our armed forces in the area of strengthening our nation's defense potential, are requiring competent and coordinated operations of all our air force services. Among the decisive undertakings concerned with the maintenance of high combat effectiveness and readiness, the problems of optimum flight safety conditions are occupying an unusually important place. The assurance of these is the object of constant concern to all command organs as well as to all services and special departments accountable for the whole of the air service.

On 5 May, the 19th Conference on Flight Safety of the Air Force was held at the Military Institute of Aviation Medicine in Warsaw, during which the basic conditions comprising air operations safety were analyzed.

The conference was attended by the Deputy to the Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Maj Gen Henryk Koczara; the First Deputy to the Chief Inspector of Training, Chief of the Inspectorate of Training of the Ministry of National Defense, Maj Gen Stanislaw Antos; the Deputy to the Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, Maj Gen Dr Antoi Jasinski, and representatives of the Central Institutions of the Ministry of National Defense. Also present were the Commander of the Air Force, Maj Gen Tadeusz Krepski and the Commander of the Home Air-Defense Forces, Brig Gen Longin Lozowicki.

Also attending were the Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of Transportation, Maj Gen Jan Raczkowski and the President of the Air Club of the Polish People's Republic, Brig Gen Wladyslaw Jagiello.

Lt Gen Sergey S Katushev, a representative of the Soviet Army, participated in the proceedings.

At the conference organized by the Air Force Command service chiefs representatives of the Air Force, Home Air Defense and Navy units, military academies and higher officer schools, as well as several army scientific-research institutions took part.

The problems on which the discussion focused were: the goal of achieving a high level of flight safety by assuring the reliable preparation of flight personnel and the strictest flight discipline, a competent and extremely efficient scheduling of flights, full performance of communications equipment and means, and also through the improvement of junior and mid-level specialist servicing crews in order to guarantee the absence of flight equipment breakdowns.

The participants in the discussion, basing their statements on concrete examples, indicated the existing possibilities for further improvements in the safety level of Air Force mission performance.

It was emphasized that the general state of safety conditions is based on an enormous number of elements, and that only their synthesis will result in human-pilot and equipment efficiency. Even the slightest break in this chain of mutually dependent operations will weaken the capacity to carry out missions and will lead to the creation of conditions which threaten the safety of the pilot and machine.

Participants in the discussion stressed several times that human activity-strict submission to an compliance with organizational regulations and methods of flight training, equipment servicing, flight safety and the rigorous execution of duties-is of decisive importance in assuring safety.

In his presentation, the Deputy to the Quartermaster General of the Polish Army and Chief of Health Service, Brig Gen Tadeusz Obara pointed to the great significance of psychophysical training and the special role of health service in the creation of safety conditions in the execution of duties by the pilots.

Brig Gen Longin Lozowicki, in his presentation, pointed out the necessity for the precise fulfillment of duties by all air services. He stressed that the premises for violating flight safety do not have their origin in objective causes; however, they can, be caused by human carelessness and lack of competence. A sense of responsibility, discipline, and deliberation in decision-making eliminates these.

Maj Gen Dr Antoni Jasinski talked on the problems of further improvements of the air force cadre education system. He also pointed to the need of giving special attention to young officer-pilots in the process of inculcating them on the execution of responsible tasks in the air.

The representative of the Soviet Army, Lt Gen Sergey S Katushev, shared his experience in this problem area with the conference participants.

Maj Gen Tadeusz Krepski spoke at the end of the discussion. The Commander of the Air Force presented the main causes for the rise of conditions threatening the safety of Air Force operations. He emphasized that criticism and an honest assessment of practical skill is essential in the work of all air services. The basis of each action in the air should be a thoughtful appraisal of the situation supported by practical knowledge and skill. The way to achieve this is through systematic training and constant expansion of ones' stores of knowledge.

After the close of the conference, commanders of units in which special work has been done to assure flight safety, received trophy cups and certificates of recognition.

CSO: 2600

CEAUSESCU GIVES INTERVIEW TO JAPANESE PRESS GROUP

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 May 77 pp 1, 4 AU

[Interview given by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Japanese journalist Masashi Egawa on 29 April in Bucharest]

[Text] As already announced, on 29 April Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received the Japanese journalist Masashi Egawa, special envoy of the "Mainichi" press group, and gave him an interview.

[Question] We hope your country will rapidly recover from the losses inflicted by the March earthquake. To what extent have those losses affected your economy and economic plans for future development? How much has foreign aid contributed to reconstruction?

[Answer] Indeed, the 4 March earthquake caused very serious damage to our national economy, to houses and sociocultural establishments and, particularly, great human losses. As I said before, all our people went into action from the very first moments, in absolute solidarity, to rescue the people buried under the rubble, to recover and resume normal activities, and to repair the damage. Close to 2 months have passed since the earthquake and I can say that all socioeconomic activities are back to normal. Practically all socioeconomic units have resumed work. The fact that in March the industrial production exceeded the plan provisions by a few million lei shows that in those difficult circumstances the people worked in absolute unity, led by the Communist Party and the government, and they overcame the difficulties created by the earthquake. In view of this we are fully confident that by the end of the year we will recover most of the losses, and that all economic activities will be carried out at the rate envisaged under the five-year plan. There is no question of reducing the country's socioeconomic development plan; on the contrary, we plan to intensify certain actions precisely in order to overcome all difficulties.

As I have stated on other occasions with great satisfaction, under those difficult circumstances, the Romanian people felt the solidarity of scores of peoples and governments--which undoubtedly constituted an encouragement

for us, as we viewed it as an expression of humanism and of appreciation for Romania's policy.

As for the economic aid we received from abroad to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, it amounts to several tens of millions of dollars. This has of course its own importance. However, the essential factor is the Romanian people's efforts for reconstruction. There was over \$2 billion worth of damage and to make up for this and to insure normal activities the people themselves must make efforts. But I want to emphasize that we greatly value the aid received, and especially the marks of solidarity we felt at that difficult time.

[Question] What is the basic line in Romania's foreign policy?

[Answer] Romania bases its foreign policy on the fact that great revolutionary social and national changes, and important shifts in the balance of forces, have occurred in the international arena and continue to occur. In general, these changes favor a new policy of equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, establishing interstate relations on equitable bases, recognizing each people's right to develop freely and to participate on an equal footing in solving the complex problems of international life.

In view of these changes and trends, Romania advocates and resolutely acts to develop relations with all the states in the world, regardless of social system. We, of course, place the emphasis on developing relations with the socialist countries. We are also developing broad cooperation with the developing countries and are expanding our relations with the developed capitalist countries, and with all states, regardless of social system. We believe that in the contemporary world the peoples must strengthen their cooperation and struggle to democratize international life, to establish a new world economic and political order, to solve all problems by negotiations, and to exclude the use or threat of force from international life.

[Question] What is your stand on the current trends in Europe, Asia, Africa and America?

[Answer] As I have stated, great changes are occurring and deepening in the world, under which the peoples are asserting their will to finally end the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, and to insure the independent development of each nation. Along this line, I believe that in Europe, relations of cooperation have been developing both during the period of preparations for the Helsinki Conference, and after it. Despite all the contradictions and difficulties which still block the way to security and cooperation in Europe, premises are being created for expanding cooperation on the basis of the above-mentioned principles. Romania believes that the forthcoming meeting in Belgrade must open up new prospects for implementing the documents of Helsinki, and must especially create

conditions for achieving military disengagement on the continent, without which it is difficult to talk of real security.

As for Asia, the continent is so vast and diverse that one cannot discuss it in one breath. The problems affecting the Middle East, the Far East, or the Indian Ocean area are all different. However, generally speaking, we believe that important changes have occurred in Asia, too. The victories won by the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples in their struggle against imperialist aggression have exercised and continue to exercise a powerful influence on the entire continent, and on the entire world. In the Middle East, the struggle to establish a just and lasting peace, based on Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, on solving the Palestinian problem and on insuring the independence and solidarity of all the states in that area is vitally important both for the socioeconomic development of those peoples and for international peace. As a general trend, I think that the Asian people have an increasingly better understanding of the need to promote an independent policy and to decide by themselves their path of development, eliminating all interference in their internal affairs.

The same thing can be said about Africa, too, a continent in the full process of development, still struggling to completely eliminate colonialism, racial policies and neocolonialism, and where peoples are intensifying their struggle to consolidate their national independence and to strengthen their unity. I believe that despite the difficult problems that still exist on that continent, the general trend is toward the free and independent development of the African peoples, of Africa, toward excluding all foreign interference in the affairs of the continent.

The same trends can also be noted in Latin America, which is advocating a new policy, especially in relations with the United States. All these facts confirm what I have said before, namely that on all the continent the major trend is toward the assertion of a new policy of national independence, equal cooperation, of eliminating all forms of oppression and interference in the internal affairs of the peoples.

[Question] How do you appraise the role of detente for mankind's future? How will this policy influence the situation in Europe?

[Answer] The changes which are occurring in international life have permitted a transition from the "cold war" policy, from tension, to a policy of cooperation and detente. Certain successes have been attained along this line, although I must say that, in our opinion, the trend toward detente is still only at the beginning. There are still forces and areas of tension which can jeopardize the trend toward detente at any moment. However, I think that if the people continue to act resolutely to strengthen their national independence and sovereignty, if they reject any interference in their internal affairs and consolidate their solidarity, they can insure that detente and cooperation are promoted. In the

last analysis, this implies a new, democratic policy of equality among nations. Needless to say, the problems of underdevelopment, of creating a new economic order, of achieving disarmament, and other problems affecting mankind, must also be solved. Only after solutions have been found to these complex problems will one be entitled to speak of real detente. But I am convinced that the peoples have the means and the necessary strength to overcome all the difficulties which might eventually emerge, and to insure a new, democratic international policy.

As I said, I believe that Europe will also subscribe to this goal, and that it will make an active contribution to solving the international problems. One must not forget that currently, Europe is the continent on which the most massive military forces are concentrated, and hence, disarmament problems are particularly acute for the European countries. Of course, this does not mean that they are less important for the rest of mankind. This is why we link the problem of detente in Europe to disarmament and to the achievement of new relations, based on respect for each people's right to decide by themselves on their destiny, without any foreign interference.

[Question] How do you see the future of Romanian-Japanese relations, especially in the area of economic cooperation?

[Answer] I want to stress with particular satisfaction that Romanian-Japanese relations have developed greatly in recent years. Our economic exchanges almost quintupled between 1970 and 1975. During my visit to Japan--of which I have the most pleasant memories--we concluded a number of agreements on expanding cooperation and relations between our countries. We have carried out certain production-sharing projects. I believe that, based on the experience accumulated so far, and on existing agreements, real possibilities exist for further expanding our economic exchanges, especially our production cooperation. In this respect I am referring both to cooperation in building certain projects in Romania, and to cooperation in industrial and economic projects in developing countries.

One of the factors on which the expansion of Romanian-Japanese economic relations depends is more Romanian exports to Japan. Currently, we import a good deal from Japan--and we could import more--but export only little. I hope that, together with the Japanese Government and firms we will find ways of solving this problem, in the interests of expanding our economic cooperation in various fields.

I want to emphasize that Romania and Japan are also actively cooperating in the area of international policy, in solving complex problems. Both countries are interested in promoting a policy of detente, and I am convinced that in this respect, too, our cooperation will grow ever closer.

[Question] What is your opinion on the future of the international communist movement--1 year after the conference of European communist and

workers parties--from the viewpoint of various paths to socialism and of the so-called "Eurocommunism"?

[Answer] This is of course a very vast problem. I must stress from the very beginning that the international communist and workers movements have become an important factor for solving mankind's various problems. I am referring primarily to the fact that, aside from the countries where the communist parties are governing parties, and are building socialism, the communist parties play an active role in the national and international activities of many countries, where they constitute a powerful social force. In cooperation with other leftist and democratic forces, they are playing an increasingly important role in solving their countries' and mankind's problems.

As for future developments and for the prospects of the communist and workers parties, I believe that, in the spirit of the world general trends--which inevitably pave the way for social, revolutionary changes--the future of the communist and workers parties, of those parties which work for new changes in society, is a bright future.

Of course, as is known, the RCP believes that each communist party carries out its activities in accordance with the concrete historical, social and national conditions prevailing in its country, and that the parties must be actively integrated in the problems of their own nations and work for democratic developments in society, for achieving new, equitable production relations. They struggle to insure a better and more just society for all their country's citizens, and actively participate in achieving peace and relations of equality among nations.

The conference of European communist and workers parties was precisely a manifestation of those new trends toward asserting each party's right to establish its political line in keeping with conditions in its own country, and to act to build socialism in accordance with those realities.

It is within the same framework that we view the interest shown by various Western communist parties in finding new forms of transition to socialism, in accordance with the level of development of their countries, with tradition and with the fact that the great majority of the people must both support and directly benefit from the new social relations. Naturally, the problems facing the communist parties are diverse. They differ in Western Europe, in Asia or Africa. National and international developments, the changes occurring in the world create conditions for revolutionary social changes which, however, are not--and cannot be--identical in each country. This fact makes it necessary to adopt different solutions and it paves the way for success in the communist and workers parties' struggle.

[Question] The problem of human rights has acquired a special place in international relations. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] The human rights problem is indeed very important in international life--since people play the decisive role in both material and intellectual spheres, and in the changes occurring in the world. We proceed from the reality that the revolutionary change of society, the fact that power is in the hands of the working people, and socialist construction will solve man's basic problems, will insure his vital rights--eliminating exploitation and oppression, the equitable distribution of income among the various social classes, the guaranteed right to work and to remuneration according to each person's training, and ever better living conditions for all citizens. The new, socialist society, in which the people are free and masters of their destiny, also creates conditions permitting the active participation of the masses in leading public affairs, the state and in consciously building their own future. Socialist democracy insures the concrete framework in which each citizen can participate in the taking of decisions which concern his basic interests, in establishing the country's general policy and in implementing it.

It is true that currently, certain foreign circles place the stress on certain formal aspects of the rights of man, while ignoring all the basic problems I mentioned before. They approach the matter in this way in order to divert the attention of the peoples in those countries from precisely the lack of basic rights and from the existence of grave social anomalies, such as exploitation of the working masses, flagrant economic and social inequalities between the great majority of society and the exploiting minority, the unemployment which affects millions of citizens, innumerable material, intellectual and political privations inflicted on broad classes of people. Indeed, solving these vital, urgent problems concerning the broad masses and insuring their basic rights is one of the primary requirements of our era and of international political life, and one on which the progressive forces and peoples of the world must concentrate.

Certain countries, which talk of people's right to emigrate, only aim at securing cheap manpower for the big supranational trusts, especially intellectuals, intelligent labor force. This is nothing but a new form of imperialist exploitation, aimed at keeping less developed peoples and the nations which are making efforts to promote their independent socio-economic development in a state of backwardness.

This is why Romania--whose policy centers on and whose supreme goal is insuring de facto the exercise of man's basic rights, broadly developing democracy and insuring all the people's welfare and happiness--believes that attempts by various foreign circles to distort the essence of these ideas, to blur the truth of their own society, and to focus propaganda media on the formal aspects of the rights of man and on inciting the labor force to emigrate to economically developed countries, do not serve either the solving of the problem of fundamental rights, or the cause of international detente and cooperation.

[Question] What is your attitude toward the forthcoming Belgrade conference? What should it discuss?

[Answer] In my answer to one of your previous questions I stated that the forthcoming conference in Belgrade must insure the continuation of the policy initiated at Helsinki, it must find new ways for implementing the jointly signed documents, which constitute one entity, for expanding economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation, and intellectual exchanges between people. Romania pays particular attention to military disengagement, in the belief that security and detente in Europe and in the world are linked to reducing armaments and to disarmament. We hope that there will be no confrontation at the conference, but on the contrary, that steps will be taken to attain these targets.

I want to conclude by conveying warmest wishes for prosperity and well-being to your readers and to all Japanese people.

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

PRECONGRESS IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION HELD IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Mar 77 pp 1-4

[Account prepared by Mehmed Halilovic of the session among scholars, party officials and members of the press: "Quasiliberalism and Dogmatism Represent Counterrevolutionary Ideology"]

[Text] As part of the pregress talks and discussions of the central issues in the ideology and practice of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in the development of our society, and, specifically, in the development of our Marxist thought, the editors of this newspaper intend to organize a series of roundtable discussions of certain topics and publish accounts as a special feature entitled "OSLOBODJENJE'S Forum." The first of these accounts is devoted to a discussion of quasiliberalism and dogmatism today. Responding to the editors' invitation, distinguished scholars and cultural and public figures presented their own views of these phenomena in a face-to-face discussion and outlined certain problems and the framework in which they view them, thereby making their own contribution to answering many questions: How do we account for the rise of quasiliberalism and dogmatism in the world and in Yugoslavia today? How do they differ and at what points do they come together in political action? What are the historical, social and ideological roots of their appearance? How are they manifested in the social sciences, culture, and the economy, in relations among the nationalities, and within the League of Communists? What is devotion to revolutionary principles, and what is dogmatism and liberalism...? The following participated in a 4-hour discussion which we are publishing in a somewhat abridged version: Dr Franc Cengle (editor of the journal SOCIJALIZAM in Belgrade), Fikret Eminovic (assistant in the Law School in Banja Luka), Dr Muhamed Filipovic (professor in the Faculty of Philosophy at Sarajevo

University), Dr Zdravko Grebo (docent of the Law School in Sarajevo), Esad Horozic (vice president of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People), Dr Franjo Kozul (professor at the Law School in Sarajevo), Dr Nenad Kecmanovic (docent of the Faculty of Political Sciences in Sarajevo), Dr Fuad Muhic (professor at the Law School in Sarajevo), Sabrija Pojskic, M.A. (secretary of the LCY Opstina Committee in Zenica), Dr Rudi Stojak (professor at the Junior College for Social Welfare in Sarajevo), Dr Vlado Sultanovic (professor at the Economics Faculty in Sarajevo), Dr Safet Serifovic (president of the Sarajevo City Conference of the LCY) and Dr Arif Tanovic (professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo). Several newsmen and editors of the newspaper also took part in the discussion. OSLOBODJENJE is aware that all of those sociopolitical figures and scholars who have made an important contribution to the criticism of liberalism and dogmatism in philosophy, ideology and politics were not participants in this first discussion. We hope, however, that still broader groups of participants will take part in the series of discussions to come on the basis of the results of this first discussion.

Quasiliberalism and Dogmatism Stand in Opposition to Devotion to Revolutionary Principles

Tanovic: The topic of this discussion is, then, quasiliberalism and dogmatism! Liberalism is a typical and classic ideology of the bourgeoisie. It has always been "quasi" as compared to the authentic devotion to freedom represented by the workingman's movement, the working class, the proletariat and communists as the avant-garde of the working class. We know that liberalism coincides with the bourgeoisie's appearance on the social and historical scene as a new class whose interest it is to break the fetters of feudalism. It formulates the principle "liberte, fraternite, egalite," and above all the sacredness of private property. What kind of freedom does it want? The freedom of the serf from his feudal fetters--so that he will become a worker and can take employment and can sell his labor in some factory or workshop, free trade, free movement of capital, and the freedom of the capitalist to exploit the worker. Equality means only equality before the law, which in fact sanctions economic inequality and every other inequality that derives therefrom.

Liberalism has always guaranteed certain formal freedoms or, when they are not formal, but real, then they are only partial freedoms. There may be freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of contract, etc., just so this does not jeopardize political power and capital. A man can speak out in Hyde Park against the government and the system, but he cannot change it! Only those freedoms which do not threaten capitalistic

relations are allowed; which means that those freedoms are subject to essential restrictions....

OSLOBODJENJE: What gives rise to liberalism in the socialist countries?

Tanovic: I would offer two or three theses instead of an answer. That is, a class may step down from the stage of history and yet its social consciousness may remain and go on living, and its ideology may have a retrograde effect in the consciousness of individuals. This is what usually happens.

Socialism is a contradictory process. We are familiar with Marx's thesis that socialism is burdened with the legacy of history, that it carries within it the baggage of the past, that socialism is being built on the foundations of class society, and that it is creating its own foundation for communism.

Those radicalistic theses to the effect that an entirely new society can come into being overnight are, then, extremely naive and have nothing to do with Marxism, but are related to anarchism. We are dealing with a long historical process, and the true question is the extent to which a new socialist social relation is concretely achieved in real historical conditions, the extent to which the possibilities for the liberation and rule of the working class and associated labor are taken advantage of.

Even socialism itself is reproducing certain ideological forms of liberalism out of its own contradictory nature. Even within socialism there are forms of alienated capital when technocracy is in power, when it is able to develop liberalistic ideas, since it holds the instruments of the state and technocratic positions based on rights taken away from the workers.

It is sad that certain Marxists have become liberals and have lost sight of the distinction between proletarian and communist devotion to freedom and bourgeois liberalism. (What is frequently referred to as "anarcho-liberalism" is not a topic of this discussion.)

What Is Devotion to Revolutionary Principles, and What Is Dogmatism?

OSLOBODJENJE: What is the relationship between nationalism and liberalism, and what is the relation between liberalism and dogmatism?

Tanovic: Nationalism, since it is an ideology of the bourgeoisie, an ideology of the class enemy (it is Comrade Tito who has stated this most clearly in Yugoslavia), usually likes to dress itself up with liberalism. We would also say that the ideology of liberalism corresponds to technocracy. The technocratic form of liberalism is indeed one of its new manifestations. In the contemporary capitalist world, and even in the socialist world, there are also some other new forms of liberalism making their

appearance. There are the theses about the "end of ideology," so-called futurology, the theory of convergence, and so on. All of these are varieties of bourgeois ideology, which has been taken up even by certain socialist theoreticians, though without any foundation whatsoever.

In our society today, then, there are social forces still active which are suited by the ideology of liberalism, which is reproduced by middle petit bourgeois strata and by technocratic tendencies. The class consciousness of the old society is manifested in various nationalistic theses and it takes every opportunity--sometimes openly and at others covertly--to show that it is still alive.

Liberalistic ideas stand in particular opposition to an orientation based on Marxist principles in social consciousness and in social practice. That is, from liberalism's standpoint any devotion to Marxist principles is labeled as dogmatism of one kind or another. This is a tendentious attempt to cause confusion in public life. There are obvious examples around us. Devotion to Marxist, socialist and revolutionary principles is a hindrance and annoyance to both quasiliberalism and dogmatism. For liberals devotion to principles means dogmatism, while for dogmatists devotion to principles means avant-gardism.

OSLOBODJENJE: What is the source of dogmatism? What is its essential nature?

Tanovic: Dogmatism actually represents ideas and practice which have been preserved beyond their time; it represents ideological conservatism in both theory and practice, and it is as old as human thought, since it is a concomitant and shadow of it. It is manifested in all strata of social existence: in production, in politics, in ethics, in philosophy, in religion, in social consciousness and in the social sciences. At every level in human productive practice we encounter the tendency to embalm and preserve, to freeze and dry what has been achieved and efforts to justify this in theory.

When we bear in mind that the Marxist dialectic is concrete and has content, that it represents total movement, contradictions and supersedence of the status quo, then dogmatism is seen as the true opposite of Marxism, its antipode. Where do its roots lie? In fairly broad historical terms its roots lie in a faltering of human praxis and human consciousness, that is, of social praxis and social thought. Wherever you find conservative empiricism, there you will also find dogmatism.

The ideological expression of dogmatism in the socialist context is bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is a parasitic stratum, and the bureaucratic tendency tends to deaden, ossify and hamper revolutionary praxis.

In our own context dogmatism has even manifested itself as treason in certain of its fanatic forms. Its reactionary nature is disguised with

rhetoric, gesturing, and demagogy, with appeals to the supposed interests of socialism and the working class, internationalism, and so on, but it never fully states what it is referring to and what it is offering. Its principle is dogma, not the interests of the working class and the interests of social transformation, the emancipation of the working class and of society as a whole. It has manifested itself in several ways in Yugoslavia: we have had the Cominformists, the followers of Rankovic, and the dogmatic activity of various groups and groupings. Even today it is manifesting itself in its attitude toward the Law on Associated Labor. Everything that is new, every change, is bothersome to dogmatism, and it therefore probably represents one of the most serious dangers, since it tries to nourish itself on the possible difficulties in social development and on contradictory conditions and developments, so that it can gather strength from lagging production and material structures and from lagging social consciousness.

[Box, p 1, col 2-3]

Esad Horozic: Attacks on Personnel Policy

Liberalism Offers "Resourceful, Clever, Flexible [Approaches] ..."

The revolutionary changes in personnel policy have drawn the particular attention of liberalism and dogmatism. Liberalism attempts to replace such criteria as moral and political fitness, zeal and ability with petit bourgeois and technomanagerial concepts and categories--resourcefulness, cleverness, flexibility, elasticity, and so on--and to some extent it succeeded in that up until the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium. Liberalism proclaims zealousness to be outdated Partisan and Skoj [Yugoslav Communist Youth League] romanticism and reduces all activity to commercialism. The anarcholiberals, particularly in the period up until the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium, declared true revolutionary and public activists to be anachronistic and outdated, and the dogmatists called the young personnel newcomers and Beatles. Certain reflexes of dogmatic conceptions were evident in the form of factionalism at the time when the Socialist Alliance was being institutionally organized as a front over and in relation to the issues of whether a person who is religious could be elected to the bodies and forms of the Socialist Alliance, of whether it would not be a good thing to have membership qualifications for the Socialist Alliance as exist for the League of Communists, and so on.

Both the dogmatists and the liberals, whose conceptions of personnel policy usually are based on nationalism, the

supremacy of some particular nationality or group--are opposed to the qualifications set forth for candidates during elections and call it an instrument for engineering the election of some particular person. They refuse to see and admit that this is a set of political instruments whose purpose is to guarantee the equality of the nationalities and the proportional election of personnel to bodies and forums from the ranks of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

[Box, p 1, col 4]

Sabrija Pojskic: The League of Communists is Strong and Influential

All those who are deceived that the League of Communists is playing a stronger role as a leader in political ideology try to interpret this development in their own way. The bureaucratic-dogmatic forces advance the thesis that the enhanced role of the League of Communists means that self-management has not proved out and that the League of Communists should grow to become a factor in the government. The technoliberalistic forces try to interpret the stronger role of the League of Communists by stating that the League of Communists is operating from centralistic positions. Our response to the accusations of both groups is clear: we want a strong, unified and influential League of Communists which acts as an internal force in self-management and not as a force outside and above the organism of self-management.

[Box, p 1, col 5]

Fuad Muhic: The League of the Opposition

I think that the term "quasiliberalism" is quite apt when taken together with the concept of dogmatism as something that is more deeply rooted and better known, for expressing a particular form of opposition which with respect for the League of Communists has so far taken various forms, but always with the same ultimate purpose of denying the historical role of the League of Communists and of demanding some historical alternative to it. Sometimes the dogmatists and self-liberals have engaged in an apparent personal quarrel. It has sometimes appeared that points of contact were difficult to find between them because of their identification as "left wing" and "right wing." However, in the LCY's fight against the various oppositional currents the

differences disappeared when our party realized the real truth that a live coal burns the same whether it is held in the right hand or the left hand and that it should be cast away as soon as possible.

The Principal Targets of the Attack: Self-Management, Ethnic Equality and Nonalignment....

OSLOBODJENJE: Neither dogmatism nor liberalism are something specific to Yugoslavia alone....

Sultanovic: Quite right. Certain theoretical conceptions which today are mainly manifested within the context of statist socialism, conceptions which hark back to certain old models and theoretical schemes which are now far outdated, try to measure and compare the achievements of other socialist societies and the conceptions of certain worker parties and revolutionary movements with respect to some type of socialist society which is the "only possible and correct one." These viewpoints, which, for example, entirely equate social ownership and state ownership of the means of production, or identify government administration with social self-management, are actually inclined to use the same yardstick in measuring things which are frequently different, and when something does not fit into this simple diagram of socialist society which has been arrived at in this way, they make an a priori judgment and call it revisionism or right-wing deviation.

In other words, these dogmatic conceptions, though deeply rooted in statist relations, that is, in the very mode of production and in centralistic administrative management, simply refuse to recognize the differences and peculiarities in the conditions and situations of various countries, but instead try to set up or, better to say, reaffirm some universal model which is supposed to put everything in order and create ideological unity, monolithism among different socialist orientations and commitments, which obviously cause dogmatists amazement and confusion. This is why, though not the only reason, self-management and the national peculiarities of independent roads in socialist development are the principal targets attacked by these theories. It is also logical for the policy of nonalignment to be questioned, but usually this is simply passed over.

In our context this type of dogmatism is manifested in the form of the ideology of the so-called state-ownership stage in the development of socialism. In the political sphere it is actually fighting to restore the bureaucratic form of government in which the state and a party detached from the working class figure as the principal factors and arbiters in sociopolitical life, and in the economic domain they would like to reestablish the monopoly of the technobureaucracy and give it control over the total labor of society and all the means of production.

In essence we are actually dealing with a neo-Stalinist variant of socialism which in our context represents a bureaucratic counterrevolution, i.e., casting socialism back to the methods of centralistic and administrative management, hegemony, unitarianism and institution of the power of a socialist bureaucracy. Given its arrogance and narrowness, this type of dogmatism can be recognized with relative ease, and it is thereby easier to wage an ideological and political campaign against it. Its opponents are usually various dogmatic and neo-Cominform groups or individuals who--finding spiritual food in statism as a system, i.e., as if it were some perfect or completed form of socialism or some "developed socialism," fight overtly or covertly against association of organizational principles for labor and the handling of assets, against affirmation of integral self-management, against liberation of the working class in Marx' thinking, against the national equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and even against socialist Yugoslavia's international position, all the while saving a system in which income is alienated.

As for our own Marxist theories, its criticism was effective even earlier in dealing with this type of dogmatism concerning the essential issues; this certainly does not mean that this should no longer be our concern. Indeed, there is all the more reason to engage in this activity because the theory and practice of associated labor may provide new inspirations and stimuli....

Two Tendencies With a Single Goal

OSLOBODJENJE: Certain apparently paradoxical situations in which these two complement one another are also possible as well, are they not?

Sultanovic: In the real and contradictory social situation it is possible that these two apparently different conceptions might in actuality be supporting and complementing one another. This is indeed the case with the two-way relationship between dogmatism of the bureaucratic type and liberalism.

Put most succinctly and viewed from the outside and from a formal standpoint, we are dealing with two different and divergent conceptions. The first, for example, advocates a technocratic monopoly as one of the essential preconditions for return of the monopoly of the state based on state ownership, with all the pertinent attributes and symbols of its political and economic power. The second liberalistic conception preaches the establishment of some abstract freedom and "multiparty democracy" of the bourgeois type in which the League of Communists would certainly become a second-rate political power and, according to the premises of this logic, would have no right to intervene in either public life or self-management. Thus these liberalistic tendencies are actually aimed at creating disorientation and political confusion in society, creating a situation which can benefit only those forces which are opposed to the policy of the League of Communists and the general course in the development of socialist self-management.

In that context, with such a situation created, and we can frame that hypothetical situation, an opportunity would be given to those tendencies which, to put it simply, are aimed against the achievements of our revolution and especially against the future of its development. In this case the paradoxical appearance would disappear, and we would see in full-blown form not only the protagonists of the bureaucratic and dogmatic orientation, but also other pretenders to the leading role in society--from the nationalists to the radical leftwingers. It is difficult to imagine what might happen in such a case, but some of the events preceding the 21st Meeting of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee clearly and unambiguously prefigured a possible all-encompassing crisis which might overtake society in such a case.

Consequently, it is obvious that dogmatism and liberalism both draw their conceptions and spiritual inspiration from old class relations, and the real basis of their invigoration lies in the contradictions existing both in the world and in Yugoslavia, especially those contradictions which come about on the soil of socialist society, which is slowly coming into being and evolving from the entrails of class society with all its monopolies; in our context those contradictions necessarily require that a clear leading role be played in the field of political ideology by the League of Communists, which is leading the fight for self-management and by virtue of its political action is greatly helping to resolve the contradictions.

But as long as we are on this topic, we might recall the fact that the leading role of the League of Communists is being played in a dialectical process in which the role of the League of Communists as the leading ideological and political force is constantly being built up and transformed to keep pace with the development of the socialist relations of self-management and with enhancement of the role of the working class and the position of all the working people in associated labor based on self-management.

Models "For All Times and All Situations"

OSLOBODJENJE: Given the nature of our discussion perhaps we ought to define the true political and ideological significance of these concepts. These concepts have a long tradition, and it is not uncommon for them to be defined differently. What do they actually mean in our context, in actual social praxis, and not just with symbols and constructions used in theories?

Kozul: Were we to define liberalism in its positive sense, then we would never have enough freedom. Then again, if we define dogmatism as faith in socialism, as faith in the future, and were so to conceive it as devotion to revolutionary principles, then it is no longer dogmatism and contrasts with what we have been elucidating in the negative definition. Quasiliberalism is indeed the appropriate term for the content of the ideological orientation that has been opposed to self-management from

Djilas' ideas down to the present. Dogmatism, in its negative definition, has a quite concrete content. For us this is Stalinism: or, still more concretely, the dogmatists are a synonym for the Cominform orientation and ideology, and the same applies to the ideology of the "strong arm" which Rankovic offered us.

So, these are not static categories, these are not passive orientations, but they represent consciousness and action which are firmly opposed to the League of Communists and to the system of social relations based on self-management. We are not dealing merely with conservatism and the frozen consciousness of those who cannot keep up with the pace of the revolution, then, but with an altogether differentiated and vigorous ideological structure. In practice the dogmatists accuse the League of Communists of liberalism, of betraying the "sacred principles" which Stalin established, while the liberals on the other hand cry out that the party is dogmatically oriented. What they have in common, along with all factions in the history of the League of Communists, is that they offer alternatives--first an alternative to the leading role of the LCY and then an alternative to the self-management system of relations.

In practice, then, the dogmatists attempt in the name of the "remote future" or past to return the entire process of the development of self-management to its starting point or indeed to freeze it at some particular point in history. Even though the League of Communists and the forces of self-management have been combating dogmatists advocating Stalin's model for more than 2 decades, the Cominformist conception of socialism is still alive both on the international scene and also in our own reality, and the international dimension is not without significance right here at home. According to that doctrine or ideological concept, there is no dialectics, there is no impact of conditions and the time, but tried and true models and conceptions are proposed for all time, all places and all conditions.

This is not the first time we have debated dogmatism in the sphere of theory, and we must continue this; we are familiar with "Marxist dogmatism," but theoretical exposure must have its effect on practice. Dogmatism is not only a fear of consciousness, but also constitutes practical action. The study of reality is more than the mere act of noting down facts, but requires action as well. We have rich experience which we cannot or dare not forget, thereby leaving it to "ripen in the archives," so that specialists and professionals in the future might be concerned with it.

The conflict with dogmatism in concrete action is an ongoing job. Even during the revolution it was clear that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (LCY) would not follow the dogmatic tradition and orientation of Stalin's model, but, as we see, we are still encountering a past which has a direct effect on the present. Since in the world today Stalinism is being rejected in its variants in both theory and ideology, and since

many parties have chosen their own roads to socialism, the content of dogmatism's manifestation in practice will more and more be political in nature, and this has particular importance to the development of the movement, to the working class and to the party of communists.

An Offering of Abilities Under Unequal Conditions

The quasiliberals have also been offering their alternatives, variants and solutions from the very first beginnings of the self-management system. Liberalism as an ideology has its roots in the tradition of European Social Democracy, but the modern technostucture is today its base of support. It is not, then, a question of seeking room for freedom, which the term itself might very well signify. On the contrary, what is offered is a concept of social relations in which the principle of might makes right would prevail at all levels of the social structure. On the other hand, abilities are offered at auction, above all in the economy, but under unequal conditions and in a context of unequal possibilities.

This conception is not raising the old question of personal freedom, but the question of "freedom" at the group level. Anyone who cannot stand this "competition" had better stay away! So, even the modern quasiliberals do not differ greatly from the posture and rhetoric of the liberal bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie also shouted out slogans about freedom and equality, but we have a pretty good idea for whom and in what respect! What is new and represents a product of our time is the fact that technocracy and the quasiliberal orientation are alike in their demand that the law of might makes right be enhanced and that intelligence instituted reign of terror; what they want, then, is a replacement for the dogmatic solution calling for a reign of terror by the bureaucracy.

If we carefully examine these social phenomena, we note that they differ from one another in their phrasings and maxims and even in their contents and methods. However, in the final analysis their goals coincide with respect to at least two types of facts:

- i. first, both groups offer alternatives to self-management and to the leading role of the League of Communists and
- ii. second, both of them speak in the name of "great ideals" in the form of slogans about "freedom" and "communist principles." We have experience with the type of "freedom" they are talking about and we know about it, just as we have experienced and learned about the kind of quasiprinciples represented by the Cominformists and ideological groups of similar orientation.

Advocates of both groups of ideas are well known to us, but we still need to expose and demystify the false content in slogans which have a humanistic or revolutionary ring, though actually the content that stands behind them is opposed to self-management!

[Box, p 2, col 1]

Vlado Sultanovic: The Tasks of Party Members

Under the present conditions, as the Law on Associated Labor is being implemented, an effective fight must be waged so that all communists adopt those methods and take up those issues in basic organizations which will make them active participants in the total process of decisionmaking through self-management, rather than their making decisions instead of the bodies of self-management. Otherwise the party would be replacing the self-management system and would, as Comrade Dolanc recently said, find itself in a position of a conventional party in power, with all the adverse consequences it might derive therefrom. It is a question, then, as Comrade Tito stated at the 10th Congress, of party members being active not only within party organizations, but also outside. Their meetings are only an agreement as to the action to be undertaken, while their real leading role is performed on all the battlefields for socialism, in all the domains of social life.

Consequently, it is these tasks and this orientation which have decisive importance not only to achieving the vanguard role of the League of Communists under the conditions of the present stage of our development of self-management, but at the same time to overcome the dogmatic and liberalistic tendencies in society and within the League of Communists.

[Box, p 2, col 3-4]

Arif Tanovic: A Joining of Forces on a Platform of Restoration

The exposure of dogmatism, which falsely manifests itself as Marxism or as radical revolutionism, is an exceptionally important task for Marxists and all progressive self-managers in our society. Quasiliberalism should be treated in the same way. These two apparently opposed positions are in actuality only different forms of the same oppositionism, representing the opposite class positions and different interests than the interests of the working class. And since they have different interests, their social consciousness and ideology are also different.

It does not take a great deal of wisdom to see how dogmatists become liberals, and liberals dogmatists or

extreme radicals, or how the oppositionists join forces on a platform of opposing socialist self-management, whether it is a bourgeois restoration or a bureaucratic-statist restoration that they long for. That is why the League of Communists as a whole, and especially progressive scholars and intellectuals, should look with open eyes and critically point out how these forms of counter-revolutionary activity are manifested in each new situation. After all, today--in advance of the congresses to be held within the League of Communists--there are again emerging with the intention of planting as much doubt and confusion as they can and of placing society's basic commitments under a question mark. The specific solutions which we have can, of course, be reassessed, and indeed they should be, but the fundamental commitments of this society are certainly not open to question! They are the principal achievements of the revolution and the main lines of development of our society, and they cannot be questioned!

I think that both quasiliberalism and dogmatism can be thwarted in society only by a continuous and consistent practice consisting of revolutionary actions and through the development of socialist self-management in the heart of society, which at the same time means creating an ever fuller democratic, spiritual and ideological atmosphere in development of a critical thought which has definite principles as its point of departure and has a clear socialist and communist thrust.

The Entrepreneurial Conception of the Market Economy Is the Basis of Liberalism

OSLOBODJENJE: To what extent have these tendencies been evident within the League of Communists, and how have they been manifested?

Filipovic: In asking the question of liberalism's and dogmatism's influence on the ideology and policy of the League of Communists and within our society generally, you should bear in mind that as a society we are in the phase of aggravation of the conflicts between the League of Communists and those tendencies and ideologies; that is, we should bear in mind the fact that these conflicts are not something external, occurring between the League of Communists on the one hand and certain opposition forces on the other, and that the League of Communists represents some kind of autonomous and independent entity which is taking a position toward certain outside forces, when actually this is also a conflict within the League of Communists. Those external ideologies, interests and policies infiltrate with the help of certain factors within the League of Communists and attempt to attain influence within the League of

Communists, since it is within the League of Communists that the strategic lines of development of our society are defined.

What are we actually talking about?

The League of Communists has managed to draw certain lessons from the political and class struggles which we had between 1965 and 1971, or, more precisely, up to the 21st Meeting, and even to some extent up to the 10th Congress--which, as President Tito has said, is a congress of unity and of victory for the revolutionary forces--and to clear up certain essential and strategic issues concerning the development of socialism in Yugoslavia. We have emerged from the entire context of those political and class struggles with a clear strategy which is based on giving the decisive role to associated labor in resolving the entire set of complicated problems that arise in society's economic, political, social and cultural development. This basic strategy has been carried out in stages--through adoption of the constitutional amendments, the constitution, and then the Law on Associated Labor, and through the political and economic campaign to stabilize the economy, which is still going on and which is being waged with all the rules of a very fierce class and political struggle. This struggle is being waged by the League of Communists and by the working class as a participant in its own right in the true sense of the word. After all, this battle which is being waged today is not any mere ideological and political battle, but is an outright battle for existence, a battle to make our economy and our society capable of discharging their obligations to the development of socialism in Yugoslavia. That is why the level of organization and the influence of the working class emerge as the primary factor in that battle, since it is quite clear that it cannot be won solely by political declarations, though political declarations and clear positions can mobilize the working class to an exceptional extent and can define the lines of struggle along which that battle is to be won. Today, then, the battle is being waged over whether our system of total self-management and the conception of associated labor, which implies the decisive role of basic organizations of associated labor, can demonstrate their economic and existential justifiability or not. The fate of the development of self-management socialism in Yugoslavia is actually being decided here.

OSLOBODJENJE: What are the exact manifestations of liberalism and dogmatism in associated labor at the present time?

Filipovic: At the outset and even today liberalism has manifested itself as an attempt to perpetuate and preserve the entrepreneurial conception of the market economy which is the foundation on which our system is supposed to function; this conception gives the appearance of favoring self-management, but it actually gives the decisive role to technobureaucratic forces. On the one hand this conception favors the superdeveloped, favors the concentration of capital on the basis of factors outside the economy, and favors the alienation of assets and domination by technobureaucratic structures, and it facilitates an alliance between the

technobureaucratic structures and bureaucratic structures, that is, political structures with statist inclination. We recall that it is precisely this entrepreneurial conception of the self-management organization of the market economy which not so long ago reached its culmination in certain quarters, as indicated even by the statements by certain very high government and party officials, who on certain issues, especially the issues of manifestations of monopolism and deprivation of the small producers and the underdeveloped, express themselves as follows: "Those who lose will have to look out for themselves, since the law of a market economy is that some lose while others gain." I.e., that the powerful win and the weak lose (!). These viewpoints, which at one point were expressed even from such high government and party positions, could not, of course, be made to disappear simply by issuing a declaration or making a decision, not because the new views would not be accepted by the people who previously defended the old ones, but because they had become materialized in an entire chain of real economic relations, measures and privileges and also positions which have yet to be taken.

We can moreover note that a new attempt is being made to build onto this position a conception of the Federation as an independent entity in the economic process, an entity standing over and against associated labor, an entity which in some views should again concentrate capital without the direct control of associated labor and should allocate capital according to its own discretion on the basis of purely political agreements, and not of real decisions by associated labor or self-management compacts and accords based on the dominance of associated labor.

Who Wants Democracy and Who Wants Dictatorship?

OSLOBODJENJE: What is dogmatism's position in this present context?

Filipovic: It seems to me that we need to clearly state that there is no essential difference between liberalism and dogmatism, since liberalism is a specific variety of dogmatism, just as dogmatism can manifest itself in the form of liberalism. When we are dealing with ahistorical ideological and political formations and conceptions, in their essence they come down to the same thing when set against that which is historically new and which is coming onto the scene. The difference is only apparent and ideological, but in essence the same consequences are involved. Incidentally, Marx clearly states that the dictatorship of the proletariat is "democracy for the working class, but dictatorship for the capitalist class." Liberalism in Yugoslavia is a conception of democracy and of full freedom for the bureaucratic-technocratic forces and for statist bureaucratic forces in general, while at the same time it is a strong dictatorship for the working class; dogmatism on the other hand is also an attempt to impose, on the working class the idea that it place its entire confidence, without discussion, in the leadership's positions which are not an expression of the direct will of that working class, positions like that leadership's full freedom of action and full freedom to change

its positions whenever it takes the notion. There is much evidence of this kind of thing in the history of the worker movement. Consequently, liberalism and dogmatism come down essentially to the same thing. You can moreover check this out and establish it on the broadest basis. There is essentially no difference between America and, say, the Soviet Union in the actual power structure and the role of the government machinery in public life, the economy and culture. Critical research has shown that America, which is the standardbearer of liberalism, has just as much actual dogmatism as the Soviet Union, which some look upon as the epitome of dogmatism. The essential thing is that in both cases we are dealing with detached statist-bureaucratic and technocratic structures which dominate in the modern technological era and with depressive systems based on that modern technology. Serious studies whose soundness cannot be disputed have proven this very clearly and precisely in theory.

What is it that we dare not forget here?

We dare not forget that under our conditions and in our time the actual battle is being waged over the structure and organizations which are to be adopted in the process of reproduction, that that battle is being waged under the complicated conditions imposed by modern technology, and that those conditions are typified by a reduction of direct manpower and an increase in the number of intermediaries in the process of reproduction, which means technical and general administrative and other personnel, and that this is frequently a tendency that cannot be stopped. It is being demonstrated everywhere, and we are no exception. For that reason the strategy of the fight against liberalism, statism, technocracy and dogmatism consists precisely of guaranteeing the authentic dominance of the working class under those conditions and its decisive role against those tendencies and the forces which those tendencies push into the forefront.

I would like to make one general remark concerning the question that was put to me: I think that we have achieved important results and have made important contributions in the fight against liberalism and dogmatism. I am thinking here of the contributions made by a number of people in theory and politics who have written and spoken about these questions. I therefore want to say that this first and initial talk should immediately be continued in a much broader forum and with a number of people who by their deeds have made a real contribution to the fight against dogmatism and liberalism. I do not wish to cite their names here, but you know that I am referring to my numerous colleagues and comrades at the university and in political life. I hope that in the next discussion OSLOBODJENJE will see that these people take part.

What Is Typical of These Two Ideological Mentalities?

Muhic: Dogmatism and pseudoliberalism represent two perils the proletarian revolution can fall into if it does not keep a constant watch over its own developments and tendencies.

Dogmatism has traditionally represented the danger that the revolution will become petrified in one of its stages of development and that that stage will be proclaimed to be the embodiment of the purpose of the revolution instead of being creatively resolved to give way to subsequent forms of historical experience. Quasiliberalism, on the other hand, goes to the opposite extreme. Instead of seeing that in their content human rights and freedoms are class-determined, and instead of abandoning abstract humanistic definitions of those rights and freedoms (terms in which these concepts will never be realized in practice), false liberalism establishes ties with demagogy, makes unrealizable demands on society and the working people, and wishes on that basis to represent itself as the vanguard in ideology and politics, to capture the consciousness of the members of society with empty rhetoric, and to lead them astray from their real goals. As we trace the lines of development of our revolution, we can say in this context that two ideological mentalities have always been present (or, better, have always tried to manifest themselves); so far they have been encountered in all revolutionary systems, but in our situation they have had distinctive sets of features: the dogmatic set and the false liberalistic set of features.

The dogmatic mentality has never emerged from the framework of its Stalinist and neo-Stalinist model from the past. Principal efforts in the domain of theory intend to resist all innovations brought by the LCY Program and the LCY's subsequent programmatic documents. At times this was waged in terms of naive dogmatism, though even then it was not harmless, while at other times it was waged with subtle moves whereby dogmatism tried to describe itself as a defender of the ideology of self-management socialism.

An interesting pattern can be seen here: when the LCY was settling its account with liberalism on matters of principle, dogmatism saw that as its historical chance to reenter the stage. Not so long ago, when the LCY won its victory over anarchism, liberalism and New Leftism, the dogmatic orientation made a sudden attempt to revive and to enter all the vital pores of our thought and practice. In literature and painting there was a thrust toward socialist realism. In philosophy, sociology and political science we can trace similar attempts by advocates of "diamat--histmat" [dialectical materialism--historical materialism], whose aim was to take us back to the most highly oversimplified interpretations of Marx' and Lenin's thought, which were current with us for a brief time before 1948. Finally, in the field of politics dogmatism has attempted to revive on the basis of the conception that the Yugoslav community can survive only under conditions of "a firm hand at the helm." According to this conception, which has been particularly propagated by neo-Cominformists in underground political opinion, we will have to go back to the conditions of state socialism if we want to stay within the limits of Marxism and Leninism.

Analogously, false liberalism has taken the offensive when it saw the LCY's showdown with dogmatism as a historical chance for it to gradually eliminate the LCY itself, proclaiming it, by equally refined theoretical and ideological methods, as an outdated organization no longer needed by the revolution, since supposedly it had become aristocratic, elitist and institutionalist. The public was surprised to recognize among these "liberalistic" views views held by certain names rather well known among our middle-aged scholars, men who by their "brave" statements actually revived what anyone with the least knowledge of the history of human thought would easily recognize as the theory of elitism and nihilism. Presenting themselves as "enfants terrible" and as "gadflies," their aim actually was to represent themselves as the only progressivists and vanguardists, while all other committed party intellectuals were dogmatists and "official party ideologs." That is why we cannot say anything about their way of thinking except that it signifies a demand for some different model of the party than the League of Communists.

Dogmatism and the "Cultural" Actions of the Liberals

Cengle: In their discovery of "sufficient" grounds on all sides for imputations of all kinds, the "brave" lads representing a frivolous liberalism, "trick riders," "crack" shots, and all sorts of other "masked" vigilantes apparently refrained from an outright denial that socialist self-management does exist as political reality in the everyday world. It would have been too easy to see through the effort to persuade millions of fellow citizens of something that does not exist or to invent falsehoods in the face of the hundreds of thousands of our basic organizations (of associated labor, of the League of Communists, and so on) in which sovereign decisions are made everyday about the existence of the country and the destiny of socialism.

Since they do not refrain from rivalry at all costs, but they cannot compel associated labor and the League of Communists to enter into partnership, the offended "exhibitionist" analysts make it their business to hunt for weak points in the political system which "someone" is supposedly using to constantly threaten the elementary freedoms of individuals and their communities. Hidden deep from public scrutiny, in these "inaccessible enclaves" of the system, then, there is a powerful "sectarian-bureaucratic" logos operating in some metaphysical manner and "manipulating" all of associated labor, which has been so conscientiously preoccupied with the new constitutional arrangements, the basic laws of the system, nationwide defense, material production, work discipline and productivity, remuneration according to work, and so on, all the most ordinary things, yes, there you have it, it simply hasn't given a thought to what is being "hidden" from it and what is being "taken away" from it.

The leaderist liberal "arbiters" are never able to find a common language with the millions of working people who know what they want and who by no means are letting slip from their hands what they have gained with their

blood and what they have built with their calloused hands and who know that they have peace and freedom: personal, ethnic and every other kind. Nor did it help them to start "sinister rumors," even when they were associated with spiritualistic and clairvoyant prophecies and predictions of earthquakes and other cataclysms. Nor did anyone listen when they talked about the virtues of a bourgeois or guild pedigree, nor about the influence of some particular popular personalities, so good natured, with such refined taste, and, most important, he "belongs" and has a refined sense for vulgar "political" guilt.

The quasiliberal "bosses" and dogmatic advocates of a "firm hand" never manage to come to grips with anyone for the simple reason that everyone is vitally interested in realizing his essential interests, conscious that only by his own work and by pooling his labor on the basis of socialist self-management can he establish a personal existence, which is the cardinal feature of social relations in Yugoslavia. That is why the quasiliberals and dogmatists move on to sublime and cosmopolitan domains and topics so as to "exert an impact" from outside. After all, why should we make free and autonomous decisions and go on building when we can "waste time" exposing forgeries and denouncing insinuations? It "doesn't bother them" that they are sowing enmity and starting quarrels, that they are attacking their own country, and that ultimately they are becoming suspicious to the whole world, which cannot but be amazed at so much "license" and such a lack of elementary political sophistication. And if they come from anywhere else--people outside have said--they would have already been subjected to the customary treatment of ostracism, as in the ancient polis, or (fearful) asylum, as in the medieval monasteries, or transportation to border districts, as in Tsarist times. In Yugoslavia, however, none of that can happen to them.

But since even the "cultural" and cosmopolitan actions taken by "our" liberals and dogmatists have a certain relevance of their own in everyday politics, the liberals with their flowery talk and the dogmatists with their rigid schemes "superciliously retire" to undertake a "fundamental" reassessment of our revolutionary tradition and of the historical foundations of our present reality of socialist self-management. One of the purposes is to revive and embellish monarchistic and quisling, nationalistic and chauvinistic, Cominformist, unitarian and other sectors, though all they accomplish with their "schoolboy's dogmatism is to belie the confusion in the thoughts of their teachers" (Marx).

This "schoolboy's dogmatism" from various quarters, strange as it may seem, is the principal weapon used in the political "denunciation" of the League of Communists and of associated labor. It, of course, is also the principal weapon used to "prove" that certain members of the League of Communists are "just plain ignorant," since, they simply disregard "their teachers," who are "competent" even concerning our revolutionary traditions.

The quasiliberalistic and dogmatic "defamation" of our communist tradition and of our progressive tradition in general, even when done by means of "schoolboy's dogmatism" actually comes down to a negation of the historical contributions made by the League of Communists and our working class.

In the period before the congresses it is extremely important to reinforce the revolutionary unity in both organization and theory concerning the development of our socialist self-management, and therefore concerning development in the field of science and theory in general. After all, whereas in the process of actual physical production there really is no room for eccentricity alongside firm, responsible, well-organized, disciplined, astute and productive work, by contrast in the field of so-called theory, here and there there have been a number of "strange" and essentially retrograde conceptions and doctrines that the decades have been reproducing themselves. In short, liberalism and dogmatism, in all their derivations, use this as one of the ways of arranging an "elitist" confrontation with the League of Communists and our working class, that is, with the associations of direct producers.

Equipping Ourselves Better to Recognize Opposition Ideology

Serifovic: One can ask at the very outset: Are liberalism and dogmatism really opposed, or is this a mere illusion? I think that these two ideologies are not opposed to one another in their essence and in the ultimate intention of their proponents and advocates, since in certain situations, at the essential end point of their consequences, liberalism frequently turns out to be dogmatism, and dogmatism turns out to be liberalism.

All forms of liberalism and liberal democracy known to date are unacceptable to our socialist system of self-management, in which by virtue of creative elaboration and application of the philosophy of Marxism we are successfully building a society of true equality and of evermore complete socialist self-management democracy; it is after all well known that liberalism and liberal democracy are relics of the bourgeois capitalist society, of the Western type of democracy, which is based on private (or state) ownership of the means of production, on private enterprise and the ideology of the so-called "natural right" of the strong to rule the weak and of the rich to rule the poor. There is no need to talk about dogmatism as an ideology of eternal and unchanging "truths" which have been given once and for all.

It is a good thing that today we are debating this topic which has relevance for us, that we are debating dogmatism and liberalism, liberalism in this case being qualified as "quasi," since any liberalism, as its protagonists conceive it and advocate it in Yugoslavia, is actually a false liberalism, represents only a feigned fight for democracy, for greater freedom, when in actuality it tends to degenerate into anarchy,

and thereafter becomes dogmatism of the most sinister Stalinist type. Take, for example, the activities carried on at one time (not altogether vanished even now) of certain university professors who were well organized among themselves, professors who in presenting every possible liberalistic conception were supposedly teaching more freedom and democracy for the working class, while in the end they became orthodox dogmatists, since in fighting for their personal power and political superiority (especially in the sphere of ideology and theory), they denied the authentic power of that same working class and the revolutionary role of its avant-garde--the League of Communists.

Even today individuals, some of them even in the ranks of the League of Communists, are advocating quasiliberalistic conceptions, are writing and saying everything under the sun (a cause in which they are aided by one portion of the Yugoslav press and periodicals), seeking alliances with everyone, turning democracy into a banality, and not uncommonly equating it with anarchy; objectively it is the positions of dogmatism and counter-revolution that they are taking up. It seems that liberalistic tendencies are somewhat more evident than others since they are presented by individuals, frequently even under the guise of fighting dogmatism and technocracy and because to untrained ears they might even seem attractive at first because of their demagogic slogans and their courting of the working class.

Of course, the most effective way of combating quasiliberalistic and dogmatic conceptions in activity in the domain of political ideology is to constantly improve the ability of the League of Communists to break new ground and shed new light in our further development of socialist self-management as a total system, to strengthen its unity in ideology and action, to strengthen its ideological and political role as the leader of the working class in the fight to accomplish its present and enduring historical interests and revolutionary goals, and that means by consistently implementing the basic propositions of the constitution and of the Law on Associated Labor. Finally, in this struggle we need a still greater and more creative commitment by a greater number (than at present) of Marxist and humanistic intellectuals who by what they write and what they say have an ever greater and more crucial role to play as an integral part of the working class.

[Box, p 3, col 4]

Esad Horozic: Petit Bourgeois Treatment of Women

It seems to me that at this moment the liberalistic ideology in all its petit bourgeois variants is most evidently and openly manifested concerning the issue of the treatment of women; this is primarily to be seen in popular periodicals, feature journalism and large-circulation press literature. Except in certain art films and literary works, women are shown in black-and-white tones, as

in the time of the Renaissance, either as Susanna the Chaste, as Judas, or as the Kurtizan, the seductress, the schemer, the doll, the mysterious and able secretary, and the intelligence agent. Probably we will have to take up these topics in a better organized way in science, education, culture and art, and especially in politics.

The Right Wing and the False Left Wing at the Same Time

Horozic: I would join those who have first expressed appreciation to the organizer of this discussion in having decided that we should undertake to reflect on and discuss these two ideologies at the same time, regardless of differences in their biographies, their social origin, their forces of ideas, the forms of their manifestation, and the details of their activities. Comrade Filipovic stated it well when he said that an equal sign could be placed between them, and I would add to that that liberalism and dogmatism are "twins," not so much in the time of their "birth, their midwife and their mother," but in that they coexist at this moment, are operating along parallel lines, and are reproduced in the remnants of structures that have been overturned and superseded, which is why, in my opinion, in the political sense we have at the same time and together both a right and a false left standing against the liberation of labor and socialist self-management.

Adopting this approach and this context of reception, which in my opinion contains a more meaningful logic and is a less rigidly schematic method, following Comrade Filipovic's idea, one might also place an equal sign between these two concepts, i.e., the right = the false left, which is a two-way relationship. One might say with reservation that at one time liberalism represented the left with respect to feudalism and the enslaved position of the serf, but as soon as it took on political form and was consolidated, it ceased to be that.

It seems to me that the differences between these two ideologies are felt and detected to a far greater extent in bourgeois and statist societies and political systems than in Yugoslavia, in the context of socialist self-management. I would say that in the context of those societies they stand in sharp opposition to one another, whereas in Yugoslavia they tend to rub shoulders, to blend, to penetrate one another, to establish links, to aid one another and to stimulate one another. The tie-up between them comes about because they have in common their position as opponents of socialist self-management. It is precisely the decisive course adopted by the League of Communists to go further in developing the socialist socioeconomic relations of self-management as a domestic policy and in adopting the policy of nonalignment in foreign policy that has forced them to join forces and intermingle.

There are also other reasons in the realm of practical politics for us to discuss them simultaneously and compare their manifestational forms,

since any separation of them would create the impression that one or the other was being underestimated or overestimated, while from our standpoint their opposition to self-management puts them on the same plane and gives them a common denominator. To be sure, it is worth bearing in mind that at certain times, in certain periods, in certain quarters and localities, they may differ in strength and form. Regardless of various ideological and political evasions, they have in common, for example, that they favor power in the name of the working class, but without the participation of the working class, that they oppose the policy of nonalignment, and they are in favor of membership in a bloc. So, toward these two strategic lines of our social action and of the enduring commitments of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, in domestic and foreign policy, liberalism and dogmatism personify one and the same hostile position.

Technocracy Provides Liberalism and Dogmatism With a Common Framework for Their Activity

OSLOBODJENJE: It would be a good thing if we tried to analyze what they have in common, what makes them different, and also certain forms of their manifestation.

Horozic: First, it seems to me that from the ideological standpoint they usually do not occur in pure form, except, and that is rare, on those occasions and at those moments when they are trying to take organizational and political shape and express themselves in the form of a factional, oppositional or hostile group. Since the conventional content and forms of their manifestation have long ago been compromised--those of liberalism during the revolution and those of dogmatism at the time of the Cominform Resolution--and since in addition they are recognizable to every honest citizen, since they have been exposed to the last detail in our Marxist theory and practice--they manifest themselves today in various modes, usually concealed behind concepts and categories we use today to label certain phenomena which are still objectively with us in our society and development, such as the contradiction of socialist construction, technobureaucracy, and so on. In our context, in the context of socialist self-management, technobureaucracy is the most suitable framework for liberalism and dogmatism to carry on their activity and it is the one that they most frequently fear in common. Around it, through it and in it they link up with one another and express their ideologies.

One might say with qualifications that technobureaucracy is another name for liberalism and dogmatism; this is the term that most precisely signifies the processes whereby these ideologies integrate and coexist. It is no accident that Kardelj ordinarily uses the word technobureaucracy without breaking this composite term into its components, since under present conditions the phenomena they are used to denote do not manifest themselves separately and isolated from one another, but in tandem and coordinated action against socialist self-management democracy.

The Method of the "Firm Hand" Toward the Working Class

Unitarianism, as a method of apparent and coerced "reconciliation" of interests among the republics and autonomous provinces, is another ornament which liberalism and dogmatism have in common. It does not make its appearance so much in its old uniform, as a form of open resistance to building up the Federation on the new foundations of the constitution and to affirmation of the republics as self-managing governmental communities responsible for the development and strengthening of the Federation. Unitarianism is today manifested more in the form of a slowing down of the process of reconciliation of interests, a postponement of the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts, tactics behind which we usually find hegemony and privileges gained in the past.

In the domain of socioeconomic relations liberalism is in favor of the market without self-management, it wants the law of value to operate in a "lively" and anarchic way, while dogmatism is against the market and against self-management. Liberalism in the conventional meaning was a reaction to statism and dogmatism, and dogmatism represents a reaction to liberalism, but in our context both of them are primarily a reaction to self-management. In the context of self-management liberalism represents the left-wing deviation and dogmatism the right-wing deviation!

However much they may appear to differ, liberalism and dogmatism are typified by the method of the "firm hand," which is to be used against the working class, not against our own bureaucracy, those social strata and categories from which they reproduce themselves and whose interests they personify and express. They have in common that they look upon the working class as too immature to govern, and they therefore recommend paternalistic philanthropy and tutorial mercy by those who are intelligent and frozen. It is from those same conceptions of the working class and from those same motives opposed to self-management that liberalism and dogmatism take the opposition out of the same motive of opposing regulation of the exchange of labor between the various parts of associated labor on the basis of a self-management accord, especially relations between material production on the one hand and science and culture on the other. The elitist thesis that the principle of the exchange of labor and the principle of distribution according to the results of labor leads to vulgarization in the fields of science and culture and to the degradation of their visionary virtues, reducing them to everyday politics, day-to-day news and calculations--is a feature which liberalism and dogmatism have in common.

Even today, either covertly or overtly, "around" or behind various "round-tables," liberalism is trying to instill confusion concerning the differentiation and drawing of true boundary lines between certain terms, categories and ideological manifestations in our society. For example, effectiveness, mobility and decisiveness of LC organizations, of the bodies of self-management, and of government agencies in implementing the constitution are described as a return to the "method of the firm hand."

From the standpoint of that ideology and those who harbor such misconceptions militance, decisiveness and effectiveness on the part of the LC are synonyms of the "method of the firm hand," while neutralism, passivism and inertness with respect to the course plotted by the LC are synonyms of democracy.

OSLOBODJENJE: How, to what extent and why is dogmatism manifested in our science?

Grebo: What I would like to say is aimed at exposing dogmatism in the humanistic sciences or, still more precisely, in the political and legal sciences. At the same time, though the distinction is almost superfluous, I think that the only task which is worthwhile is to speak about "our" dogmatism, about dogmatism bearing a Marxist label in all its dimensions and meanings.

Whereas our contemporary liberalism creates a magic illusion with its supposedly neutral competence, while in this domain we are in vital danger since not infrequently we are naively susceptible and unthinkingly gullible concerning the results of wandering "specialists, experts, civilizers and teachers," and "educated and polite" politicians of the "new stamp," "our dogmatism" threatens by nurturing an intimacy based on recalling the heroic times of the revolution, in whose name it speaks to a great extent, and in identification in both ideology and practical politics with ideological blueprints which usually emphasize their proletarian origin without any sort of good reason.

After all, what really does the historical goal of the proletarian movement have in common with the four points in one chapter of the political history of one communist party? If this reduction perpetrated by Stalin and his classical dogmatic scheme which is today loyally repeated and deduced by echelons of his unlettered or frightened theoretical advocates can only arouse--aside from consternation in the face of its horrifying outcome--an historical interest, a situation which might resemble the dogmatism of the notorious thirties and forties in the society of advanced socialism, not to mention self-management socialism, is counterrevolutionary beyond any doubt.

It is therefore certain that it is equally urgent to conduct a discussion in that direction today. Since this society of ours, following a period which has consisted more of ideological struggle than of vacillation, has undertaken authentically to follow in Marx' footsteps, numerous theoreticians have undertaken to explain in what are supposed to be Marxist terms where it is going. The explanations have consisted of pedantic quotation of statements from the classics in the best hands and of shallow constructions in the hands of poorer claimants. We, of course, pay honor to those few exceptions which do not prove the rule. This "Marxist" folklore has not only failed to arrive in actual practice, but in typical dogmatic fashion has lost sight of the time frame of any doctrinaire system.

A number of essential issues have been systematically dismissed because of academic conformity or ignorance.

It, of course, is still an indisputable fact that the classical core of Marxism is indeed classical and is relevant to the criticism of many contemporary Marxists as well.

Marxism is not a finished system consisting of paragraphs and library call letters, but a fundamental theoretical method of thought and of revolutionary action.

We turn a deaf ear to the fundamental changes, our dogmatic theory has on the one hand opened the door to political subjectivism and voluntarism, while on the other it has left entire fields of knowledge to bourgeois science, not voluntarily, of course, but out of pure helplessness. Its entire "contribution" has been reduced to "fixed concepts independent of context." The entire theoretical construction consists of several propositions of the most general kind to which exaggerated and inappropriate use has given the stamped-out features of common places of the lowest order. These well-intentioned (because they are supposedly Marxist) trivialities and notorious positions are actually counterrevolutionary regardless of the motives of their proponents, and the LCY ought to expose them as political enemies. After all, not only do they lead a vain and parasitic existence, but they are effective in causing confusion in the revolutionary action of all the socialist forces. Dogmatism, which is a deserter from reality and the political action of the LCY and which blissfully goes about its own ideologization, is probably one of the most effective weapons against Marxism.

Judgment of Scientific Research Projects

Stojak: In today's discussion, both in general terms and also in more specific terms, about the forms in which dogmatism and quasiliberalism are manifested, we might truthfully say that scientific thought in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been subjected to a kind of criticism and sometimes to out-and-out ignorance. We have frequently been criticized from liberalistic positions as dogmatists, as orthodox opponents of "the hard line and the firm hand" and the like, and we have been criticized from dogmatic positions as unreliable liberals who by virtue of our specific history and the road we have taken are violating some of the visions of dogmatic conceptions of the world in which we live.

From the standpoint of scientific research and particularly the development of sociological and philosophical thought in Bosnia-Herzegovina which is the principal topic of what I have to say, both tendencies--dogmatism and the forms of liberalism--have shown all the traits of elitism and the variants of that orientation. This consequence is evident in almost all the high-level sociological research projects: in the selection of members of teams of specialists, in the position of individuals in research, in the organization of scientific gatherings,

symposiums, conferences and other forms of professional communication, where it has been relatively difficult to enter the elite and (to use the term now in vogue) clannish "club of the likeminded."

This brought about a rather strange situation in which teams traveling from one meeting to another would act in the way of self-styled judges whose authority could not be disputed and was supposedly the most correct and offered the most reliable and infallible assessment of what we are and where we are going. It is obvious that both these deviant directions (dogmatism and liberalism) have a strong aspiration to impose final judgments.

The development of scientific research in our republic over the last 10 years or so is irrefutable, but the results of those efforts have not been accepted with due attention in all quarters, though results and efforts from other quarters have been duly accepted by us. We might almost say from our present perspective that our young scientists have been demoralized because infallible authorities have been set up in all aspects of social research in conformity with the old medieval principle: Magister dicit.

In this sense even today dogmatic tendencies in research work are continually insisting on positivistic perfectionism, while those "teachers" of liberalistic orientation are offering "flexible" concepts and are calling for variants of an almost anarchical vision of society. "Attractive" topics which have no serious relation to the reality of everyday life are passed off as scientific research.

The entropy of the phenomenon of mass culture probably offers a convincing illustration of the development of myths, fadism and the consumer mentality, whereby liberalism, in this manifestational form, is endeavoring to launch and justify forms of the petit bourgeois way of life as an ideal. They know quite well where to find the sources of these endeavors and the kind of demobilizing effect they have. By homogenizing faith and by standardizing content, the mass media have been indirectly helping liberalistic tendencies of this kind.

The situation we are in today, which is the topic of this discussion, is that we must free our young researchers into the Yugoslav theory and practice of self-management from unnecessary pressures exerted by dogmatic and liberalistic authorities, we must encourage them to be freer in exploring their own results and in making their own contribution to the development of Marxist thought and practice. This specifically means devotion to the principles of equality, openness and readiness to accept objective critical remarks and dialog, which will have Marxist ideological coloring, based on tolerance. In so doing we would travel far in suppressing the elitist style of reading lessons and rendering judgments which are inherent in liberalism and dogmatism.

[Box, p 4, col 1]

Vlado Sultanovic: The Contribution of Our Theory and Practice

When we discuss dogmatism, we must certainly take into account the fact that our theory and practice of socialist self-management, viewed as a whole over these last nearly 30 years, have made an enormous contribution to shattering and overcoming ossified dogmatic canons which thanks to the practice of Stalinism has struck deep roots in the Marxist theory of the international worker movement. Moreover, we can state without exaggeration that it is precisely the antidogmatic and specific nature of the Yugoslav revolution that imparted to that revolution its great moral strength and the tremendous prestige which helped it in the form of inexhaustible energy to overcome all those enormous political and economic difficulties which were put in its way at every step by dogmatic and rigidly schematic Stalinism.

[Box, p 4, col 2-3, top]

Franc Cengle: Liberalism and Dogmatism in Action: Precision in Selecting the Place to "Strike"

What Are Those "Tiny" Individual Violations of the Fundamentals Principles of Political Organization?

Hand in hand with the derivations of liberalism, dogmatism--either in authentic or derivative form--comes out against the same values (the predominant role of the working class, that is, of associated labor, against a consistent class orientation in political commitments and in the way the LCY is organized, and especially against democratic centralism), which means that it is explicitly in favor of a RIGHTWARD statist-unitaristic revision, in favor of the introduction of centralistic system of command in all domains of life, and in favor of absolute subordination to an elitist political center--both domestic and international. The dogmatists "demand" a RETURN (!) to centralistic and unitaristic methods, which is confirmation that they also--like the bourgeois liberals--are interested in a "reinterpretation" of the revolutionary traditions of our communist and worker movement, so that they might "prove" that our party has been Stalinist par excellence and that it was "out of pure spite" that it rejected Stalin's methods of inhumane political oppression (our note: pressure) in the construction of socialism.

The hypothesis is this: if the dogmatists and liberalists succeed in "compromising" either the class-political commitments of the League of Communists or its democratic centralism, then the entire edifice "would have to crumble," since these are the basic principles of the League of Communists with respect to political ideology and organization. To whatever extent it may have resulted from negatively ideologized imagination and pure political speculation, the place for the "strike" has been chosen with a great deal of precision, since as a matter of fact--if by some accident--democratic centralism were actually violated as a principle governing organization and activity in basic organizations and throughout the League of Communists, then this actually would mean a collapse of the Leninist and our own conception of the unity of revolutionary theory and organization, and relations within those basic organizations would again have to be returned to the framework of the bylaws. For instance, before the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium and the Letter, one of the forms of liberalism's activity was that certain members of the League of Communists had set themselves apart "in an elitist manner" in commissions, committees, directorates and the like, and thus had actually detached themselves from their basic organizations as the fundamental form of organization and activity of the League of Communists and within the League of Communists.

If the dogmatic-liberalistic concept is still around in some places even in the present period on the eve of the congresses, it will once again signify above all the tendency of members of the League of Communists to detach and distance themselves from their basic organizations, but not from the League of Communists as such, either in a refined technobureaucratic manner or by making the excuse that they are incapacitated (because of training, official travel, meetings of collegiums, and so on); that is, the fundamental principles of political organization are violated by "small" individual exceptions.

Liberalism in any case launches and pushes individualistic theses and individual actions: the individual is everything and--still in that ancient "political" sense--stands in opposition to the "group." That is why associated labor has long since been equated with "collectivism," which is a "replay" of one of the most reactionary forms of anticommunist propaganda.

[Box, p 4, col 2-3, bottom]

Muhamed Filipovic: The Left, Criticism and Intellectuals

"Freedom Puppets"

I said something about one dimension and one series of concepts which in the near past have been used and even today are used to elaborate that liberal position. I also mentioned the left among the forces which have been occupying dogmatic and liberal positions. What does the left mean in this sense? Since the term has been used in various ways, it seems that it has completely lost its original and precise meaning. To me the left today means an attempt to create a parallel revolutionary subject to exist in opposition to and alongside the League of Communists. At one moment this was the concept of "criticism of everything that exists," an effort that was led by certain people I do not want to mention, but who even today have a strong influence and whose spokesmen or affiliates would today like to legalize the concept of the left in politics and culture as something which is legitimate in addition to the party, something representing the left, standing as the bearer and imprisoned representative of freedom, since the party has become dogmatic and is no longer the pillar of freedom.

It is true that the ever greater dominance of the working class in our life has brought about changes in the conception of freedom and a restriction on certain forms of freedom which are typical of the status and technocratic--and also the liberalistic--concept of society. The dominance of the working class presupposes strict social discipline, which comes down hard on individuals who have been exercising the freedom to make decisions--from the highest levels of government and sociopolitical power to those individuals who feel that their individuality is the basis and ultimate framework for real freedom. This discipline, this right of the working class to exercise control over the entire process of social life, and indeed over the social importance and role of science and culture, it is this which is proclaimed to be dogmatization from the standpoint of that kind of left.

We should critically analyze that sphere and examine and point out the outdated, but very effective relations which it is using in a renewed attempt to place itself, using even associated labor as a disguise. These relations have their own character and structure and their

own physiognomy, which ranges from technocratic and statist political elite to liberal-democratic and cultural elite, which in various ways are attempting to re-establish monopoly over science and culture, over the news media, striving to create a certain psychology and to shape a certain public opinion, especially on the eve of the LCY congresses, which are to make very important decisions. In this sense the battle being fought in the field of news, culture and science is today just as decisive as that being fought in the economy. The entire situation revolves around the point that someone wants to show that our model of associated labor and of reproduction based on the dominance of associated labor cannot survive and is expensive and unproductive. The general criticism develops from that point: that is, our system is criticized from the standpoint of philosophy, ideology and politics to the effect that it is expensive, unproductive, underdeveloped, unsophisticated, and constantly threatened by the bugbear of Stalinism and dogmatism. This is in essence the political content of the fight against dogmatism and liberalism today.

We should emphasize in this connection that it would not be in conformity with our principles for intellectuals to be subjected to anyone's control, whatever its form, neither control by the party, nor by so-called liberal and dogmatic forces. The League of Communists does not need spokesmen, but real and authentic fighters who will commit themselves to the platform of the 10th Congress and will act on their own, loyal to that broad platform of unity and achievement of the freedom of associated labor. If we are able to identify certain individuals who do not stand on the platform of the 10th Congress, who along various lines are actually, without saying so, acting in opposition to that platform, then we should state this clearly, since such people cannot be our companions when we go to the 11th Congress. Much of what is typical of liberals and dogmatists from the political standpoint, and also from other viewpoints, is already well known and there is no need to discuss it. Some aspects are neither essential nor interesting, and even the forms of action and dissemination of liberal and dogmatic constructions have undergone changes. Today the "reserve forces" are doing the fighting, and "freedom puppets" have been set in motion in the party and in public life. On another occasion we will have to discuss these issues in more detail and with greater precision.

[Box, p 4, col 5]

Rudi Stojak: "Embellishment" of Their Own Vision

One of the typical things about dogmatism and liberalism is that they stifle creativity and democracy, since the apologetic side is dominant in its thought and expression. It thus "embellishes" its own vision which it is offering us as the most favorable program. It has thus arrogantly disputed the possibility of the working class' demanding that scientific thought and scientific results serve it in accomplishing its practical goals, since both dogmatism and liberalism assign to themselves the role of legitimate and authentic representatives of what a self-managed socialist society ought to be.

The bias of these two tendencies is evident in the strategy they adopt to realize their goals, and it is manifested frequently in the form of arrogant preaching to those who actually are carrying out the transformation of society.

[Box, p 4, col 4]

Esad Horozic: Manipulation

In its thesis on the question of power liberalism likes to play with the terms "the people" and "the masses," not asking which class is involved, while dogmatism raises the question of the "role of the working class," but precludes its participation in the exercise of power over its own working conditions, its income, and the division and distribution of that income. Dogmatism places an equal sign between the party and government, while liberalism does tricks with the Marxist thesis of distancing and separating the party from the exercise of power, but its constant desire and aim is to separate the working class and the party from the exercise of power.

Complete Mistrust of the Masses

Eminovic: Were we to subject liberalism and dogmatism, which are actually microscopic issues among the major and essential problems of socialist construction, to an almost academic and classical Marxist criticism, we would in my judgment reveal in them the following peculiarities. Both liberalism and dogmatism result from social upheavals and derive from the interests of classes and strata. Dogmatism and liberalism, especially in the domain of practical politics, presuppose freedom from any integral and thorough theory, any intellectual comprehension of reality. Liberalism and dogmatism always worship spontaneity. Liberalism and dogmatism

have never aimed at achieving the interests of the real forces of the real revolution--the exploited masses (this at least is an irrefutable historical truth which the liberals and dogmatists take no notice of). But liberalism and dogmatism have either forgotten the importance of the development of the class consciousness of the proletariat, or they have actually clouded over that consciousness. As Lenin said, being a liberal is incompatible with being a member of the communist party. They are mutually exclusive.

Complete mistrust of the masses is an historical characteristic of both liberalism and dogmatism. For both of them the masses represent a heap of humanity which is altogether incapable of understanding their "high" ideals. The firm bond between liberalism and dogmatism is their illogical and subjective interpretation of history. So the dogmatists' fight for bureaucratic freedoms always follows liberalism's struggle for abstract bourgeois freedoms.

Theory, I repeat once more, is a very weak point for both of them. Fear and evasion of the difficult and serious task of analyzing reality is an exceptionally typical trait which completely reveals the political value of liberalism, while dogmatism has an unprecedented horror of upsetting the status quo, which means that it is frightened of any other reality.

Political Opportunism in Disguise

Pojskic: I would like to mention at the beginning that it is a very good thing that this discussion of liberalism and dogmatism has been organized since this is a very relevant topic both from the standpoint of political theory and ideology and also from the standpoint of practical politics. It is from the standpoint of practical politics that I would like to say a few words about the forms the liberalistic and dogmatic forces take and the methods they use. I will use in this the experience of a campaign in the domain of political ideology carried out by the organization of the League of Communists in Zenica.

An analysis which we in the opstina organization of the League of Communists conducted immediately following the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the 10th LCY Congress showed that technocratic-liberalistic tendencies were rather evident in practical activity. In opposing these tendencies we put the emphasis in our political-ideological campaign on making the League of Communists more effective and influential in its action and its political ideology; at the same time we emphasize the development of self-management relations in conformity with the constitutional amendments and the constitution. That is, back a few years we had a situation in which the ideological and political action of the League of Communists was blocked in certain quarters, and there were even cases when organizations of the League of Communists were manipulated, there were cases when self-management rights were usurped, there were cases of group ownership behavior, and so on,

which means that we have everything typical of the technocratic-bureaucratic tendency.

These liberalistic forces centered their attack on the League of Communists and especially the basic organization of the League of Communists, but to some extent the Committee and the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists. Their efforts were aimed at thwarting the influence of the League of Communists in various ways, that is, at preventing its "entry" into certain quarters and its clearing up certain situations so as to open up room for development of self-management relations. They denied the right of the League of Communists to intervene in self-management relations in a given place, since supposedly there were relevant decisions by the bodies of self-management concerning all the points of "dispute." They insisted on the right of the bodies of self-management to make decisions "on their own," regardless of their actual content, and so on.

Thanks to the well-organized and persistent ideological and political activity of the League of Communists and to the mobilization of the working people, the technocratic-liberalistic tendencies were suppressed, and the influence of these forces was frustrated. Certain ideological-political and other measures were taken within the League of Communists and other relevant bodies in order to achieve that goal. The room in which the technocratic-liberalistic forces were able to operate was particularly narrowed by specific ideological and political activity conducted to implement the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor and by the campaign to consistently implement the Resolutions of the Ninth Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It seems to me that not enough stress is put on the importance of the Ninth Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the fight against various tendencies and the aspects of the opposition to self-management, since it is the positions adopted there which prevented activity outside the competent bodies and leadership forums, that is, activity performed in informal groups, which is the usual way in which technocratic-liberalistic forces operate.

It is also significant that the methods and means used by the technocratic-liberalistic forces are adapting to the present conditions and to a period in which a political campaign is being waged. Since the League of Communists has become stronger and authentically represents the leading force in the domain of political ideology, since it is able to offer solutions to the key issues and to mobilize the working people in the fight for the further development of self-management relations in any particular domain, the liberalistic forces are changing their methods and means. That is, since these forces have been thrust from the political arena, they no longer come out openly as they once did, but now operate in the form of a disguised political opportunism. In our practical political action we should pay more attention to this mode of operation of the liberalistic forces. What are the manifestations of this kind of behavior?

For example, within the framework of the ideological-political activity to implement the Law on Associated Labor, especially in quarters where the development of self-management relations had been lagging behind, we have noted a very passive attitude on the part of certain structures and individuals (professional management, staff services, etc.). Or, an attempt is made to reduce the entire activity of implementing the Law on Associated Labor to bringing normative acts into conformity with the law. Excessive emphasis is put on the organizational approach, while the development of the socioeconomic relations of self-management is neglected, which essentially represents postponement of the radical transformation of existing relations, and so on. Consequently, public declarations are made in favor of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, while as a matter of practical politics we witness passivity, opportunism, and refusal to engage in political action. I think that we should point out that this mode of operation is just the same as the previous one, that is, the deliberate offering of resistance to enhancement of the working class' position in self-management, except that opportunities and the strength of influence are considerably limited. From the standpoint of practical political action it is frequently difficult to identify these forms of resistance.

Attempt to Deny the Continuity of the Revolution

Kecmanovic: It seems to me that when the organizer decided on the topic of quasiliberalism and dogmatism he opened up an exceptionally broad area for talk and discussion. In a certain sense even liberalism, not to mention dogmatism and "quasiliberalism," involves a certain mode of thought and consciousness which is relatively independent of the content of that consciousness and thought.

I would like to point out one specific manifestation of dogmatism, that is, of a static and nondialectic comprehension and mechanical interpretation of Bosnia-Hercegovina's postwar development.

Recently there has been quite a bit of talk in our republic about the continuity of the revolution. More precisely, there is insistence on that continuity in response to attempts to dispute that continuity, in response to assertions that we have "experienced a discontinuity, that even in the period between 1941 and 1945 there were crises and falterings in the National Liberation Movement and in the revolution, that in the postwar period between 1945 and 1948 statism and even some domestic modification of Stalinism were in power, and then a bit later, while we have compensation, an ad hoc solution was found, and self-management was grafted onto that modification of Stalinism.

Edvard Kardelj recently pointed out once again how erroneous and politically harmful these conceptions are. It is a fact that the particularly broad consequences of disputing continuity are very dangerous. Whether the protagonists of such opinions wish it or not, those consequences play

into the hands of those who are asking what is going to become of us tomorrow. After all, if the past of Yugoslavia's socialist self-management has abounded in crises, falterings, and fluctuations, then it is logical to expect something of the like in the future as well. We are, of course, far from asserting that our postwar development is represented by a uniform upward curve. However, if there have been fluctuations in the pace of development, they were an expression of the fight against various forces offering resistance, and by no means reflected an internal crisis in the movement or inconsistencies, disorientation, meandering, and so on. Years like 1948, 1952, 1965, 1966, and 1971 were years of a radical differentiation and of a showdown with the recalcitrant forces, of qualitatively new and higher phases of development which were built onto what had already been achieved; by no means were they years that represented a break with what went before and a negation of what had already been achieved.

7045

END

CSO: 2800